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No. 3, Jul-Aug-Sept 1983

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Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the Russian-language quarterly journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA published in Moscow by the Institute of Sociological Research, USSR Academy of Sciences.

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MODEL, TRENDS OF THE ATTITUDE TOWARD LABOR

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[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Vladimir Aleksandrovich Yadov, chief of a sector of the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Attitude Toward Labor: A Conceptual Model and the Real Trends"]

[Text] The Paradigm of the Sociology of Labor. The socioeconomic problems of labor hold a key place in the Marxist theory of the development of society. The revelation of the dual nature of labor was the greatest discovery of Marx. Concrete labor as a means of metabolism between man and nature is "a perpetual natural need," which does not depend on the forms of social organization. Abstract labor, on the contrary, is an expression of its social content. The analysis of this objective contradiction provides a key to the understanding of the entire historical process, particularly the origin of the alienation of labor in case of commodity production and the overcoming of the alienation of labor in communist society, when "the labor of the separate individual in its [labor's] immediate existence is regarded as detached separate labor, that is, is regarded as national labor" [1]. Labor develops of objective necessity into an internal need, ceases to be "only a means for life" and becomes "itself the first need of life" [2].

The conclusion about the duality of the universal nature of labor logically leads to the distinction of its technical-organizational and socioeconomic aspects, in which the former characterizes the productive forces, the means of combining the personal and physical elements of production, while the latter characterizes the peculiarities of social relations in the sphere of labor. These initial premises of the Marxist theory of labor constitute at the same time the basis for the scientific elaboration of an integral sociological conception of the labor activity of man.¹

V. A. Yadov is the author of the monographs "Chelovek i yego rabota" [Man and His Work] (1967, in collaboration) and "Sotsiologicheskoye issledovaniye. Metodologiya, programma, metody" [The Sociological Study. Methodology, Program, Methods] (1972). He has published in our journal the articles: "Satisfaction With Work: The Analysis of Empirical Generalizations and an Attempt at Their Theoretical Interpretation" (No 1, 1974, in collaboration), "Social Psychology: The Formation of a Scientific Discipline" (No 3, 1981), as well as a number of reviews.

It is impossible to regard the formation of the special sociological theory of labor either in our country or abroad as a completed process. So far much that is vague also remains in the very subject of this branch of sociology, which is on the level of other disciplines which study the problems of labor and production (particularly economics and psychology). Among the related sociological trends it is possible to name "the sociology of work" (and not the sociology of labor), "the sociology of occupations," "the sociology of the organization" (including production organizations) and several others.

Several conceptual diagram-paradigms, the succession of which in the process of the development of the area of knowledge of interest to us signifies the qualitative stages of the formation of the sociology of labor, come to light. Here the obvious dependence of the special scientific approach to the subject on the philosophical stand of the founders and followers of one paradigm or another is revealed.

It is possible to call the first stage, which precedes the process of the formation of the sociological problems of labor and production as a relatively independent branch of knowledge, the descriptive analytical stage. Western historians of the sociology of labor ignore the work of F. Engels, "The Condition of the Working Class in England," in which a detailed study of the working and living conditions of the proletariat is undertaken and, in addition to personal observations, the materials of Parliamentary reports, the testimony of the press and the works of public health physicians and socioethnographers are used. They single out the sociographic "germs" of this discipline in English bourgeois literature, mentioning the names of S. and B. Webb, C. Booth and others [9-10]. It is well known that the bourgeois writers on social themes of that time confined themselves to the demonstration of the dire straits of the working class, while Engels spoke about the world historical significance of the proletariat, the revolutionary force which was called upon to overturn the foundations of bourgeois society. The difference in the philosophical orientation is obvious: directly opposite conclusions are drawn from the same factual data.

The characterization of the conditions of the working class, the detailed description of the conditions and place of labor in the integral way of life of the workers--such is the starting point of the "concrete sociological" study of the people of labor. The further development of the research in this area involves substantial conceptual simplification and the breakdown of the integral object into its components.

The first and elementary simplification is: the distinction of the labor process and its examination within the framework of the paradigm "the worker--the workplace." In spite of the fundamental philosophical differences, both P. Taylor and Soviet investigators of the scientific organization of labor used this paradigm. Although such a statement of the question is far from sociological vision and remains almost entirely in the sphere of economic thought, it was the germ from which the sociological conceptions proper of labor subsequently developed.

As to the theoretical philosophical stand of Taylor, a bourgeois, capitalist orientation is inherent in it. Taylor uses the postulate "homo economicus," according to which the worker from the start has hated his job, material reward is the most important stimulus for him, while the system of the organization of labor rests on strict control, the clear division of labor operations and the piece-rate wage.

A. K. Gastev, who proceeded from the Marxist understanding of the subject of labor, believed that the consciousness of the new worker and his aspiration to increase the efficiency of his own labor in the name of public interests are the basis for the scientific organization of labor. He proposed the rational organization of the workplace and labor operations and emphasized the need for mutual assistance in the teaching of "the scientific organization of labor at the workplace" [11].

The Soviet psychology and psychophysiology of labor in the 1920's made a great contribution to the development of this trend. Not by chance did one of the most significant International Psychotechnical Congresses (1931) take place precisely in Moscow. A peculiarity of the work of Soviet labor psychologists, S. G. Geller-shteyn, the founder of Soviet labor psychology, noted, consisted in the fact that when studying the physiology and psychodiagnostics of labor operations and elaborating professiograms, they strove to take into account Lenin's criticism of Taylorism. In particular, the statements of Lenin that "vast improvements are being made AGAINST [in italics] the worker," while the system of Taylor is one of the means of "the further oppression of the worker" [3]. The Soviet school of the psychophysiology of labor had in mind not so much the adaptation of the worker to the machine as the adaptation of the tool of labor to the worker, not so much occupational adaptation as occupational orientation [12].

The paradigm, which succeeded the preceding one, is "the worker--the group," "the worker--the collective." It is impossible to regard it as completely sociological, but rather sociopsychological, for it was a question of the influence on productivity and the attitude toward labor of the moral and psychological climate in the group and brigade, as well as the relations of the worker with the administration. The famous Hawthorne experiments of E. Mayo gave rise to a special direction in the theory of bourgeois management--the concept of human relations. The theoretical philosophical basis of this approach is the ideas of Spenser about the functional integrity of the social organism and the theory of the humanistic trend in psychology (A. Maslow).²

In the USSR the paradigm "the worker--the collective" was based on a completely different philosophical and moral orientation, namely: the ideas of the development of the individual in the collective, the role of the collective in the cultivation of a socialist attitude toward labor, the movement of shock labor and Stakhanovites and the development of socialist competition.

The beginning of the 1950's was marked by the active elaboration of the theory of the organization and the systems analysis of the problems of labor. The new paradigm is the model "the worker in the organization." The general theory of systems and cybernetics and, with reference to the sphere of labor and production, the ideas of the structural-functional approach in sociology had a particular influence on the development of this approach. However, the inadequacy of this paradigm, which presumes the examination of the production process and the worker in the organization as a relatively closed system or a system with open ties (the latter are not specified objectively, but are analyzed in general form "at the input" and "at the output"), had also been already clearly revealed in the late 1960's.

Meanwhile the attitude of the worker toward labor and the perception of the conditions, organization and content of labor, as well as the interrelations with other workers are demonstrated by the economic and sociocultural content of his life. The

immediate conditions of labor and production are mediators of a sort of a broader social context. Thus, the sociology of labor was forced to return (now on a richer and internally differentiated basis) to the examination of the problems of labor from the standpoint of the idea of the social whole and the trends of the development of society.

And what is more today's dissatisfaction with the "departmentalization" of the studies of the social problems of labor for various fields of social knowledge, and sociology in particular, is due to the fundamentally different philosophical and theoretical ideological orientations. Some western sociologists propose to seek a way out in the combining of the sociology of work, the organization, occupations, social action and industrial relations, adding to them the related fields of economic and psychological sciences. But on what theoretical basis should such a combination be carried out? The already mentioned T. Watson seeks a solution of the problem in the eclectic combination of dissimilar theoretical conceptions: Durkheimism, Weberism and Marxism [13]. American sociologist G. Miller proposes to reject entirely the scientific conceptualization of the subject of study and to turn to a phenomenological depiction of work as "a human reality," a syncretic process of "labor life" [14]. Many western sociologists seek a way out of the critical situation in the creation by a purely empirical means of a system of indicators of "the quality of working life," inserting them in the general context of the indicators of "the quality of life" [15].

It is obvious that the Marxist sociology of labor should be developed on its own theoretical and methodological basis and should be based on different initial principles. These principles, we believe, are the following.

1. The examination of the problems of labor, its technological and social aspects within the framework of the general theoretical conception of the strengthening and development of the socialist way of life in our country, its development into a communist way of life. (By the way of life we understand the integrity of the historically established basic forms of activity, which are determined by the objective conditions of its occurrence and the peculiarities of the consciousness of people.)

It is extremely important to establish not only the synchronous, but also the diachronous relations in the basic components (subsystems) of the way of life: the conditions of life (especially labor), the peculiarities of activity and the states of consciousness. All three components should be taken in a time modality: from the past to the present and the future. The past living conditions (labor and the extraproduction sphere) substantially influence the perception and evaluation of the conditions of today and the forms of social organizations, which, as a rule, lag behind the change of these conditions. The future, which is reflected in life plans, affects the motivation of behavior in the present.

The examination of the problems of labor and the attitude toward it within the framework of an integral way of life makes it possible to evaluate adequately the essence of the diverse needs of the subject of labor, the sources of the formation of which go far beyond the production organization and make it possible to determine the promising directions of social policy and to take into account the general trends of the socioeconomic changes in the way of life.

2. The initial premise about the dual nature of labor is a principle which presumes the indispensable integration of the studies of the technical-technological and social-organizational aspects of labor activity. The latter were obviously underestimated both in our study "Chelovek i yego rabota" [Man and His Work] (1962-1964) and many others, which concentrate attention primarily on the content of labor.

3. The new paradigm of the sociology of labor should be constructed, we believe, along a hierarchical descending line from the general to the particular: the conceptual diagram of the way of life and the place of labor in the integral way of life (the value of labor and occupational activity in the general system of values of the subject, the measure of involvement in this activity according to objective indicators, productivity and self-realization in it and so on) and further by stages to the examination of the individual as the subject of labor at the given workplace. The intermediate "stages" are the worker in the system of the production organization (the structural-functional aspect of the dynamic organization of labor, namely: the level of responsibility, the definiteness of the functions in the system of the organization, self-organization and so on) and the worker in the labor collective (the sociopsychological aspect with allowance made for the problems of the moral and psychological climate, the functioning of the contact group and the development of the collective). The last "stage" in this construct--the subject of labor at the given workplace--upon analysis frequently proves to be the first stage, which is incorrect. Precisely the examination of the worker as the subject of activity presumes a quite broad approach to the problem, which is impossible without the identification of the general social and other mediating influences on the development of his personality. It is extremely difficult, by moving "from the bottom up," to understand and explain the social possibilities of the manifestation of the subject, that is, active qualities of the worker, the possibilities of his self-development, his influence on the collective and the production organization, as well as his activeness in the formation of his own way of life.

Let us note that everything that has been said pertains to the elaboration of the theoretical conception of the Marxist sociology of labor. Applied studies far from always can and should cover all the named elements.³ As is obvious from the practical requirements of today, the problems of social planning, stimulation and the formation of the organization of labor are being placed in the forefront [17]. At the same time their successful solution to a considerable extent will depend on the degree of elaboration of the general theory of the sociology of labor, which reveals the approaches to a sound system of indicators of the plan of the social development of the labor collective and to the evaluation of the correlative importance of the moral and material stimuli of labor with reference to different groups of workers not only at present, but also in the future.

The Shifts in the Attitude of Workers Toward Labor Against the Background of the Changes in Their Way of Life (1962-1976). In 1976 we conducted a repeated survey of comparable groups of young Leningrad workers, as well as workers of older ages for the purpose of comparing the obtained data with the materials of a survey, the results of which were published in the book "Chelovek i yego rabota" [Man and His Work] [18]. In the new survey the field documents of 1962 (the questionnaire of the worker and the card of the foreman) were copied in full and extensive information, which refines and broadens substantially the group of problems in question,

particularly the various aspects of the nonproduction life of the workers, was additionally gathered. The procedural aspects were described in sufficient detail, and we devoted particular attention to the designing of the sample of the repeated comparative survey and to the determination of the level of importance of the shifts being recorded [19].

In this article we will not dwell on the procedural aspects of the obtaining and analysis of the data,⁴ but will focus attention on the content results of the work. (We do not have an opportunity to compare with proper thoroughness our data with the materials of the repeated interval surveys, which were conducted by other authors, and are omitting from our study the conclusions which disagree with the results of our colleagues.)

There is another comment. O. I. Shkaratan directed attention to the fact that the problems of the studies of the attitude toward labor and the efficiency of labor coincide only in part [27]. The former is the area of motivation, the value standard characterization of the subject of labor, the latter is its activity characterization, which includes aptitude, skills, knowledge and state of health [28]. While fully sharing this point of view, in this article we are examining the attitude toward labor in its broad understanding, as the motivation and as the actual productivity of the worker, which depends on the conditions and organization of labor, on the subjective readiness to realize one's own actual "practical potential."

Let us examine the most important of the recorded changes.

As to the integral way of life of Leningrad workers, in 1962 this concept was still not being used in sociological literature. We have sparse data which are suitable for a direct comparison. And still there are serious grounds for some inferences.

Radical changes occurred in the material and everyday conditions of the life of the Soviet people. Public opinion of the early 1960's categorically condemned as a manifestation of middle class conventionality the aspiration for material well-being. If we were to go through the Leningrad belletristic journal ZVEZDA for 1961-1962, we would find many interesting examples of this. Thus, V. Nazarenko wrote "about the blind passion to cover one's body with the finest clothes possible" and spoke ironically with regard to those who buy their own house and grow a garden (ZVEZDA, No 3, 1962). Yu. Luk'yanov in the article "Grimaces of the Past," in speaking about parasites, at the same time also chastised women "who hunt for capron" (ZVEZDA, No 8, 1961).

At that time the first brigades of communist labor emerge, diverse forms of work as a public service are being promoted, the members of the voluntary people's patrol along with the protection of public order were performing "Timurov" functions, giving assistance to the elderly and disabled. An active campaign was being waged for the increase of the general educational training of the workers. A. Itigin in an essay on the workers of the Kirov Plant wrote: "Nowadays a steel maker without an education is a cook, and not a steel maker" (ZVEZDA, No 3, 1961).

Let us turn to some statistical comparisons with respect to the materials of the surveys of 1962 and 1976. The wage of young workers increased by 76 rubles, workers over the age of 30--by 90 rubles (in this case the income per member of the young family in the second survey was on the average 10 rubles more than in the

families of middle and older age: the elders give material assistance to their adult children). The living conditions changed substantially: in 1962 young workers with rare exception lived in communal apartments and in dormitories, while in 1976 about a third of them lived in individual apartments; the average provision with living space increased from 5.3 m² per person to 7.2 m². The proportion of those having a secondary education increased from 22 percent to 62 percent. Let us add what was not recorded in the questionnaire: the appearance of televisions in every young family (about 5 percent of the families in Leningrad have, moreover, two televisions [29]), while in the early 1960's scarcely half of the families managed to purchase the first Soviet television, the KVN.

Against the background of the unquestionable improvement of the material and everyday conditions of life contradictory trends occurred in the sphere of labor.

First, noticeable structural changes occurred in the indicators of the social mobility and movement of manpower (Z. T. Protasenko [20]). Among workers of unskilled and nonprestigious labor the turnover of personnel increased, among skilled workers the proportion of people from rural areas decreased and the proportion of people from families of the intelligentsia and trained workers increased. Thus, among mechanic-adjusters and assemblers the people from rural families in 1976 came to 8 percent (in 1962--15 percent), the people from families of the intelligentsia--20 percent, from families of hereditary workers--63 percent; in the group of machine tool operators the proportion of rural inhabitants declined from 21 percent to 12 percent, the proportion of people from families of employees with a higher education increased from 5 percent to 18 percent. In the groups of workers of nonprestigious and unskilled labor the destabilization of personnel occurred due to the increase of the turnover with the change of occupation. For example, among the workers of unskilled difficult manual labor the proportion of people from families of engineering and technical personnel and employees with a higher education increased appreciably. However, the workers are not being attached here and on the average every 1.5 years acquire an occupation connected with skilled mechanized labor or enroll in a higher educational institution.⁵ In 1962 40 percent of the workers having a length of service at the given enterprise of 3-4 years were in this group, in 1976 about 7 percent were such workers.

The destabilization of the composition of the workers of unmeaningful labor is a progressive phenomenon which reflects the process of the change of labor from simple to complicated labor. With allowance made for the preservation for the long-range future of the substantial differences in the level of complexity of labor⁶ and the fact that with the development of needs the standard of prestigious and appealing work will change, the systematic change of labor from relatively simple to relative complicated labor and the combining of occupations (in case of brigade organization in particular) are important components of social policy in the sphere of labor.

Second, as to the objective indicators of the attitude toward work (L. Ye. Kesel'man), the proportion of enterprising workers increased appreciably (according to the data of the repeated survey, all groups of workers were covered almost uniformly by rationalization work), the proportion of those who both do not fulfill and exceed the output norm decreased substantially (this is evidence of the improvement of the system of norm setting and the training of personnel at vocational and technical schools). At the same time a decrease of the indicators of labor discipline occurred.

Remarkable data were obtained when analyzing the "practical potential" of workers subject to their age, production experience and level of education [21]. The assertion made by us in the book "Chelovek i yego rabota": in occupations with a relatively low content of labor the workers with a secondary education work less productively than those who do not have one, proved to be incorrect. A more careful analysis of the materials showed that in both 1962 and 1976 in all the groups the workers, who have a complete secondary education, appreciably lead with respect to the majority of indicators those who do not have a secondary education. With respect to the quality of work the gap comes to 13 percent, with respect to participation in rationalization--30 percent, with respect to the level of discipline--20 percent. The gap in the total labor efficiency of the workers with a secondary education, as compared with those who do not have a complete secondary education, in the time which has passed increased by nearly twofold (from 7 percent to 13 percent).

Workers achieve the maximum labor efficiency at about the age of 45 (!), and a sharp increase falls to the age of about 30. For example, at the age of up to 30 there are twofold more people who violate discipline than among 40 year olds, in the group of 25-30 years of age 1 in 10 allows flaws in work, in the group of 40-45 years of age practically no one does. Let us note that by the age of 25 the worker has the same skills as a 40 year old worker, his production experience is quite adequate (a minimum length of service of 7 years), his education is the same. The lower production efficiency of 30 year old workers, as compared with 40 year old workers, has to be explained by the higher level of civic maturity and social responsibility of the latter.

Our mistake in the evaluation of the role of a secondary education as a direct factor of the increase of labor productivity stemmed from the fact that in 1962 we did not control the parameter of age. However, the workers of older ages (and more responsible) at that time, as a rule, did not have a secondary education, although precisely they demonstrated the greatest labor efficiency, as compared with those who have a secondary education, but are younger in age. With the leveling of the age groups the workers having a secondary education lead those who do not have one in both the younger and older age groups.⁷

The development of initiative, on the one hand, and the decrease of the indicators of discipline, on the other, testify, in our opinion, to the domination of the self-regulating "rational" mechanisms of the labor behavior of young workers. Those, who have civic maturity and take an active position in life, react constructively to the shortcomings in the organization of labor, displaying initiative and engaging in invention. Whoever does not have these moral qualities, under the conditions of the irregularity and instability of the production process frequently commits violations of discipline. The "rationalism" of both groups consists in the fact that some strive to organize production, while others respond to the lack of organization with their own laxity. Formal disciplinary measures of influence are ineffective precisely because they are not supported by the proper smoothness of production.

We believe that the cohort differences in the composition of workers are also of considerable importance. The 40 year olds began their labor life in the late 1950's and studied in school during the first postwar years. An attitude, which was adequate for the times, toward the shortcomings in the organization of labor,

which were connected with the difficulties of the development of the postwar economy, formed in this age cohort: the improvement of matters is a concern of everyone. Today's young workers have been educated under the slogans of the scientific organization of labor and the introduction of automated control systems of enterprises, under the appeals to improve the system of the planning and stimulation of labor. Therefore, when faced with inefficiency and irregularities in the organization of labor, they treat this extremely critically, and prefer to blame for the shortcomings the engineers and managers of production, who officially are obliged to answer for the assigned matter.

Third, in the survey of 1962 we did not record the forms of the social organization of production, so direct conclusions about the influence of these forms on the attitude toward labor are difficult. Such data were present in the materials of the survey of 1976, in particular, we already had information on the progress of the introduction of the brigade organization of labor. The presence at the given workplace of a checking and accounting and a management function (the description of the workplace by the foreman) was used as the indicator of the production self-organization of the worker. It was established (A. V. Tikhonov) that the "planning horizon" (a significant correlation of 0.19) has the greatest influence on the fulfillment and exceeding of the output norms among the other factors of production self-organization. External monitoring of the fulfillment of the shift assignments (0.23) has the greatest influence on the quality of work. With the changeover to brigade forms of organization the "planning horizon" increases (in our sample by approximately 1.5-fold), which directly affects labor productivity, in this case the monitoring of the fulfillment of the daily assignment in practice is not tightened up (the correlation of 0.06 is insignificant). This leads to a gap between the quantitative and qualitative indicators of brigade work.

Other data indicate that in the brigade organization of labor the provision of work with payment according to the end result, the existence of a fundamental technological "chain" and the variation of the coefficient of labor participation in conformity with the real contribution of a worker owing to the optimum size of the brigade (in small brigades in practice this is not realized) are of decisive importance. Brigade organization affects everywhere and favorably the tightening up of discipline and leads to the increase of productivity, but not always to the improvement of product quality, which directly depends on the fulfillment of the above-indicated requirements.

There are no doubts that the development of effective forms of the production self-organization of workers is a mighty reserve of the formation of a conscientious attitude toward labor [22]. The Kaluga experiment [34] and the experience of the Tiraspol Sewing Factory [16] are convincing evidence of this.

According to the data of 1976 a far from ideal picture of the organization of socialist competition appeared (A. N. Alekseyev [23]). The number of participants in the competition increased significantly and in our sample came to approximately 90 percent, there are appreciably fewer who really recognize themselves to be participants in the competition. About 20 percent of the workers regard themselves as shock workers, but the foreman does not confirm this, or, on the contrary, the foreman calls them shock workers, the workers "do not know" this; 15 percent in general deny that they are competing, although they are reckoned among the participants in the competition. It is clear that in the last group, as compared with

those who are really taking part in the competition, the production indicators are much lower (on the average by 30 percent with respect to various aspects of the efficiency of work).

In 1976 the respondents were asked the question: "How much more output in percent could you provide by working with full exertion, on the condition of the conformity of the wage to the personal labor contribution?" Only 30 percent indicated that they are working "at the limit." The remainder responded that they could increase productivity by a minimum of 10 percent (the minority), the majority--by 20-30 percent, and 1 in 15--by 1.5-fold. Two thirds of the 4,500 people surveyed were discontent with the fact that they cannot work with full efficiency. Although all these estimates are subjective, they undoubtedly reflect the willingness to increase the efficiency of work in case of its proper organization.

Fourth, in the subjective indicators of the attitude toward labor the shifts recorded by us at the highest levels of the dispositional system of the individual differ from the shifts at the level of the aims at particular aspects of production activity. As to the overall system of vital interests, among the groups of young workers, which are being compared, there is activization of the family and everyday orientations and aim toward the sphere of active leisure with the stabilization or slight weakening of social production interests and orientations. In the surveys of 1962 and 1976 the respondents were asked, how they would redistribute their pursuits in case of a significant increase of free time. A list of 23 leisure pursuits, in which it was required to indicate, on which of them they would like to increase (decrease) the expenditure of free time, was offered. The ideas of the workers about the desirable and the proper were recorded in this way.

The data (G. I. Saganenko) attest to the growing preference for everyday family and active leisure pursuits (with a decrease of the number of pursuits connected with work and public activity) and to the leveling of the interests of young men and women in the sphere of leisure, which are becoming equally diverse. Whereas in 1962 men selected on the average 2.5 pursuits more than women, 15 years later they selected only 0.5 more (but in the age group of over 30 men have many more nonproduction interests than women).

The analysis of the value orientations (A. A. Kissel' [24]) according to the criterion of the dominant orientation toward the content, the meaning of work and (or) the material goods provided by it reveals a noticeable shift in the direction of a balanced interest both in the content of work and in the material reward (on the average 10 percent).

Let us emphasize that the meaningful aspects of work, its saturation with creative elements, the possibility for self-expression and the use of one's abilities and knowledge and "attractiveness" are the main thing which determines the social prestige of an occupation especially among young people. That is how it was both in the early 1960's and in the late 1970's. The cited cases of the increased turnover among workers of unskilled labor, as well as the subjective evaluations of the satisfaction with work and the various elements of the production situation, including the content and conditions of labor, attest to this.

The thorough multilevel study, which was conducted by Kievan sociologists, testifies to the beneficial influence of meaningful labor on the interests and needs of

the individual [10]. Having distinguished two subsamples, one of which is represented by workers who have at least a secondary education and are employed in completely automated production, while the other is represented by workers with no more than a secondary education, who are employed in mechanized production (and in the former group the skills category, which is objectively required by the nature of the work being performed, did not exceed the fourth category and in the latter was not less than the fourth category), V. Ye. Khmel'ko and his colleagues determined that the personal involvement in work among those surveyed of the first group is substantially greater. Thus, the correlation of the overall satisfaction with life and its individual aspects according to the "contribution" of the satisfaction with work in the former group came to 0.35, in the latter--0.23, the satisfaction with the level of material security in the former group--0.27, in the latter--0.40 [35, p 302]. Numerous indicators of the domination of the former group of workers in the sphere of spiritual demands, the diversity of interests and so forth were detected.

At the same time (A. A. Kissel') during the past period with the preservation of the dominant aims at the meaningful aspects of labor the demands on its conditions increased sharply.⁸ If we regard as an indicator of the aim toward one aspect or another of the production situation the individual indices, which were obtained by the combination of the indicators of the overall satisfaction with work and the satisfaction with the given aspect of the production situation,⁹ then according to the data of 1962 comparatively stronger aims and aims higher than the average toward working conditions were recorded among 40 percent of those surveyed, in 1976 by using the same methods of calculation they were recorded among more than 60 percent. The demands on such components of the working conditions as a convenient shift system, labor safety techniques, the state of the equipment and public health conditions especially increased. Here the differences in the level of demandingness on working conditions in the groups of workers of younger and older ages are decreasing.

It is impossible to explain the changes in the subjective indicators of the attitude toward labor without examining the general trends of the changes in the conditions and way of life of the workers during the past years. Thus, the increased demands on working conditions undoubtedly stems from the substantial improvement of daily life outside production. The young worker, who have become accustomed to everyday material comfort, naturally makes greater demands on the level of comfort of the working conditions.

The Formation of a Standard Type of Attitude Toward Labor Under the Conditions of Mature Socialism. The examined trends force us to ponder, what type of worker is really being formed under present conditions and what type of worker is objectively necessary at present and in the immediate future. This question is a part of the more general problem of the correlation of the ideal and the normally mandatory demands on the personality traits of the citizen of a mature socialist society.

The personality of the communist type, which is comprehensively and harmoniously developed, remains for us a guideline when specifying social policy at each stage of social development. At the same time one must not ignore social reality, which determines the concrete historical conditions of the achievement of this ideal. "We must imagine soberly, where we are," Yu. V. Andropov indicates. "To go too fast means to pose impracticable tasks; to stop only at what has been achieved means not to use everything that we have. To see our society in real dynamics, with all its possibilities and needs--that is what is now required" [4, p 20].

The ideal of communist labor as a characteristically valuable, creative and free activity can be realized only under the conditions of mature communist society, the material and technical base of which frees individuals from the economic need to work for the sake of a material reward for labor. The economic and social resources of our society do not make it possible either today or in the immediate future to guarantee everyone the choice of pursuits exclusively by vocation with a creative content of labor with a high level of self-organization and free activity. The USSR Constitution guarantees the right to work to every citizen, "including the right to the choice of occupation, type of work and job in conformity with one's vocation, abilities, vocational training, education and with allowance made for social needs" (Article 40). Social need consists today in the development of an enterprising, collectivistically interested, civically responsible, conscientious attitude toward work, including the performance of duties which involve noncreative, at times monotonous (depending on the nature of work) and physically difficult labor. (Even in case of the complete elimination of difficult physical labor the concepts of the monotony and difficulty of labor will not disappear, although the criteria of their evaluation will change.) Precisely such a type of attitude toward labor, in our opinion, in the immediate future can be regarded as the standard type, which meets the objective requirements of social production and the present socioeconomic conditions of the integral way of life of the Soviet people.

Examining from this point of view the above-described data, it is possible to draw the following conclusion: there is a tendency for an attitude toward labor, which is characterized rather by rationality than by enthusiasm, to form. At the same time a responsible and conscientious attitude toward the performance of one's duties on the condition of the smooth and systematic organization of production and the objective evaluation of the labor contribution of each person meets the requirements of the intensification of labor to a greater extent than the primary orientation toward enthusiasm, the spontaneous action of the masses in overcoming the shortcomings of planning and the search for means of the accomplishment of the tasks which are not completely ensured by the systematic organization of labor.

It is obvious that there are two series of factors, on the effect of which the formation and strengthening of the standard attitude toward labor depend. These are material and organizational factors and moral and psychological factors. Among the former are: the planned character of the organization of labor, the completeness of the use of material stimuli (precisely material stimuli as the leading stimuli under socialism), the maintenance of labor discipline at the proper level, the promotion of the change of labor from relatively simple to relatively complicated labor, the development of diverse forms of self-organization (including brigade forms) and so on. Among the moral and psychological factors, in addition to the complete use of the most abundant possibilities of socialist competition and the moral encouragement of production leaders, the improvement of the entire system of ideological and political propaganda is acquiring quite great importance. We should strive not only to educate young people in the spirit of a communist attitude toward labor as the first vital need of the healthy human body and toward labor as a pleasure and the free play of the physical and intellectual powers of man, but first of all to form a standard value of the socialist attitude toward labor as the source of material well-being and civic merit, a decisive means of the social and moral appraisal of the individual, as a means of self-affirmation and the increase of social prestige in the labor collective, as a matter of honor and courage, the patriotic and international responsibility of the Soviet individual in the building of a new society.

The development and enrichment of these, in essence instrumental, functions of labor under the conditions of mature socialist society are a practicable means of the formation of the bases of a communist attitude toward labor.

FOOTNOTES

1. See in more detail [5-8].
2. English labor sociologist T. Watson caustically calls the followers of Mayo and those, who work in the direction of the concept of "human relations," "impresarios from social science." "I call them impresarios, because their work is designed for sale in various forms, be it books, textbooks on management, educational films or consultations.... Their works suffer from reductionism, fragmentariness and evangelism and are completely inadequate as a sociological explanation, which presumes the distinction of the social structural, cultural, political and economic factors. These are extreme simplifications, but owing to the combination of the simplest postulates and pseudoscientific jargon the named product has a great purchasing power" [13, p 38].
3. However, the important many-sided study, which was made under the supervision of V. V. Chichilimov by the sociologists of the Tiraspol Sewing Factory, shows that in applied labor sociology it is also possible to use the conceptual model being examined here [16].
4. The theoretical methods and actual results of this study, which was made by a large collective of the staff members of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and then the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences, are set forth in the publications of A. N. Alekseyev, V. N. Kayurova, L. Ye. Kesel'man, A. A. Kissel', V. S. Magun, A. K. Nazimova, T. Z. Protasenko, G. I. Saganenko, A. V. Tikhonov, B. G. Tukumtsev and V. A. Yadov [19-26]. The collective monograph "Sem'ya v bol'shom gorode" [The Family in a Large City] (V. B. Golofast, editor), in which the problems of labor in the life of workers are touched upon, has been prepared for publication in accordance with the materials of the study of 1976. The materials and conclusions, which were obtained by my colleagues, whose surnames are cited in parentheses, will be used below.
5. L. A. Gordon, E. V. Klopov and G. P. Kozlova indicate similar trends of social shifts, noting that in the 1970's, in contrast to 1959-1970, along with an influx of workers and peasants into the intelligentsia an influx into the working class of people from the intelligentsia, who frequently combine work and study at a higher educational institution, began [30].
6. The changes in the objective indicators of the content of labor, its automation and mechanization during the period in question are analyzed in the work of G. V. Osipov, V. G. Andreyenkov et al. [31], in which it is noted in particular that given the significant increase of the number of completely mechanized and automated sections the rate of decrease of difficult manual labor in auxiliary operations and loading and unloading work remained low. According to the same study, there are 1.5-fold more places, which require low skill, than workers of categories I-II, while there are approximately half as many places, in which great skill is required, that there are highly skilled workers [32].

7. The fact that more educated workers work more efficiently, even if they are employed in occupations of unskilled labor, does not belittle the importance of the optimum correlation between the level of the general educational training and skills of a worker, on the one hand, and the job being performed, on the other. Especially as this does not contradict the conclusion of the decrease of the overall level of satisfaction with labor among those who have received a secondary education, whose occupations are characterized by a low content of labor. See the comprehensive analysis of the problems of the increase of the general educational training of workers in the article of G. P. Kozlova and Z. I. Faynburg [33].
8. Our data differ in this point from those obtained by the research collective of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences under the supervision of G. V. Osipov on the basis of the materials of the repeated study in Gorkiy Oblast during the same space of time (1964-1979). The authors of the Gorkiy study indicate that the orientation of the workers toward the diversity of work increased by 1.5-fold, toward independence--by ninefold, with respect to the index of creativity as a whole--by threefold [31, p 18]. According to our data, the analogous indicators are much more modest. As a whole the orientation toward the creative aspects of work and its content side dominates (especially among young workers), but the aims at working conditions were stepped up to a greater extent than the aims which pertain to the content of work. R. Tamoshyunene with the use of a method similar to ours records the same trends during the period from 1974 to 1981 (according to the materials of a survey of workers of Lithuanian enterprises) [36].
9. We do not cite the data on the direct indicators of the overall satisfaction with work and its individual aspects, but use combined indicators or the corresponding correlations, which include evaluations of the satisfaction. The indicators of satisfaction, as we have repeatedly noted, are too sensitive to a large number of frequently uncontrollable factors, among which there are not only the production conditions, but also the level of pretensions of the individual, the peculiarities of the life cycle, the measure of subjective efforts in the obtaining of one good or another, the nonorthogonality of the positive and negative poles of the scale of satisfaction and others [see 25, pp 29-32]. Moreover, the absolute values of the index of satisfaction with work are stable within the framework of the given culture (G. Friedmann correctly wrote concerning this that the American prefers to display prosperity, while the Frenchman prefers to display discontent [37]). Not the absolute indicators of satisfaction, but the peculiarities of their determination by various components are important.

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FRAGMENTS FROM NEW BOOKS

UNITY, CONTRADICTION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 83 (signed to press 20 Jul 83) pp 63-71

[Article by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Tsolak Aleksandrovich Stepanyan, chief of the Department of Scientific Communism of the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "On the Question of the Unity and Contradiction of the Development of Socialist Society"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in boldface in source]

[Text] The multivolume work "Istoriya i teoriya nauchnogo kommunizma" [The History and Theory of Scientific Communism] is being readied for publication by the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences. A fragment of one of the chapters, which was recommended by the editorial board of this work, is published below.

In the history of Marxist-Leninist science dialectics, first of all its core--the doctrine of contradictions as the universal source of development, the self-motion of reality--is of particular, key importance. The founding by K. Marx and F. Engels of materialistic dialectics and the analysis on this basis from the standpoint of the working class of capitalist society made it possible to reveal its antagonistic nature and to show the historical inevitability of the revolutionary transformation of capitalism into socialism as the first phase of communism. Under the new historical conditions V. I. Lenin, in creatively developing Marxism, studied the contradictions of the age of imperialism. This made it possible to substantiate the conclusion of the nonsimultaneity of the victory of the socialist revolution in different countries, which received splendid confirmation in the practice of the world revolutionary movement, the formation of the first socialist state in the world, and then the community of socialist countries.

Ts. A. Stepanyan is the author of works in the area of historical materialism and scientific communism, including the monographs: "Zakonomernosti pererastaniya sotsialisticheskogo soznaniya mass v kommunisticheskoye soznaniye" [The Laws of the Development of the Socialist Consciousness of the Masses Into a Communist Consciousness] (1963); "Dve fazy v razvitii kommunisticheskoy formatsii" [Two Phases in the Development of the Communist Formation] (1963); "Proletarskiy internatsionalizm i sovremenmost'" [Proletarian Internationalism and the Present] (1970). He has published in our journal the article "The Indisputable and the Disputable in the Debate on the Social Structure of Soviet Society" (No 4, 1980).

The ideas of the classics of Marxism-Leninism about the role of contradictions in social life are being successfully developed in Soviet social science. At the same time, we have also repeatedly come across cases of the simplified dogmatic interpretation of this problem. Thus, for example, on the pages of the journal PROBLEMY EKONOMIKI it was noted: "The conformity of socialist production relations to the nature of productive forces signifies that the contradictions between them have been completely eliminated" [6]. At present such rigid approaches in scientific literature for the most part have been overcome, but many questions concerning the nature and importance of contradictions under socialism require amplification.

One of the main causes of the errors in the treatment of these questions is the underestimation of the internal and inseparable connection between materialistic dialectics and the theory of scientific communism. As a component of Marxism-Leninism, scientific communism studies first of all the general sociopolitical laws of the preparation, origin and development of the communist formation and their specific manifestation in different countries and, based on the data of other social sciences, provides its complete coverage. Materialistic dialectics is the philosophical basis of scientific communism. In the process of the emergence of the communist formation new aspects arise in the interaction of the named disciplines. So far they have been studied inadequately. The task, thus, is to reveal the two-sided relationship of dialectics and the laws of the emergence of the communist formation.

This new theoretical problem is serving as a subject of scientific research and debates. Some authors express the opinion that in the world everything develops, except for dialectics, its laws and categories, which are merely modified or confirmed by the experience of building socialism and communism. Others, while recognizing the possibility of the development of dialectics as a science, regard the dialectics of the emergence of communism only as a version or special case of dialectics in general. The mentioned points of view ignore the fundamentally new role of the communist formation in world history.

As is known, Lenin indicated that the dialectics of capitalism is a special case of dialectics. In our opinion, this idea stresses the historical transitional nature of the last society of the antagonistic type, with the disappearance of which the laws of its development will also become a thing of the past. The laws of dialectics manifest themselves in a completely different way in the communist formation. Communism preserves and develops them in "pure" form, without the various modifications which are connected with class antagonisms. Thus, under capitalism the principle of the division of the united into contradictory aspects and trends acts as the law of the unity and the struggle of mutually exclusive social opposites. The communist formation is characterized by the constant strengthening of the unity of the friendly, although differing classes on the basis of the gradual accomplishment of the basic tasks of the building of socialism and the timely overcoming of the old antagonistic contradictions, which were inherited from the past system, and the new nonantagonistic contradictions. The latter, thus, already at the first, socialist stage, the stage of the communist formation, become a source of social development and ensure the progress of socialism without its conversion into its opposite.

The main objective criterion of the determination of the most important stages of the development of Marxist dialectics as an integral doctrine consists in the distinction of the past history and the real history of mankind. K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin not only explained thoroughly the mechanisms of the succession of precommunist formations, but also laid the foundations of the science of the development of the communist system. What has been said, of course, does not imply the rejection of the general laws of the historical process. The general theory of dialectics also reveals precisely them. At the same time the requirement: to reveal first of all the contradiction between the new content of social development and the individual obsolete theoretical formulas, appears as its most important principle. Practical experience attests that some concepts of dialectics, which were elaborated on the basis of the study of class antagonistic social relations, no longer can serve as an adequate means of the theoretical reflection of the laws of the communist formation. The overcoming of the noted contradiction requires the constant creative development of materialistic dialectics and the strengthening of its practical transforming role. As was already noted above, some authors absolutize the social unity inherent in socialism and thereby actually deny the existence of contradictions in the very mode of socialist production. Consequently, its role as a source of the development of the communist formation is also denied. The question of the source of development is replaced by the question of its motive forces, although these questions do not exclude each other, but are closely interconnected aspects of a single problem.

Other authors, while recognizing the existence of contradictions under socialism, mechanically apply the old theoretical formulas to the new social conditions. In characterizing the problem of the unity of the new society and the social antitheses of its development, the advocates of the noted point of view assert that the notion of the achieved social unity of socialist society does not coincide with the philosophical category of unity. Thus, in the book "Dialektika razvitiya sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva" [The Dialectics of the Development of Socialist Society] it is stated: "sociopolitical unity and the unity of opposites are different concepts. The former characterizes socialism as an integral social organism, the structure of the basic interests of classes, groups and individuals in society; the latter depicts a feature of the interrelations of the aspects of the dialectical contradiction. The former concept applies to Marxist social theory, the latter--to materialistic dialectics" [7].

In fact the concept of social unity is a concrete type of the philosophical concept of unity. The artificial contrasting of the philosophical and sociophilosophical approaches to the interpretation of the category in question actually also leads to the denial of internal contradictions of the new society and as a consequence to the denial of contradictions in its basic spheres. Such an approach in essence signifies the reduction of cardinal problems to special and temporary problems.

It is possible to overcome this one-sidedness only by the consistent application of the basic principles of Marxist-Leninist dialectics, first of all the thesis of contradiction as the source of development. Such an approach is especially topical in our age, when two world historical processes--the triumph of communism and its accelerating global scientific and technical revolution--have coincided historically. It is characteristic that even the anticommunist journal PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM in a series of articles under the intriguing title "Where Is Russia Headed?" was forced to make the following admission: "The Bolsheviks in 1917 were stronger than

in 1903, were stronger in 1930 than in 1922 and were stronger in 1955 than in 1944. Is there some reason to assume that communism today is weaker than it was in 1956? Who in the end could have predicted 5 years ago that today in Europe and the United States the new generation of students would empty university buildings under the banner of Marxist slogans and would appeal to the names of... communist heroes?!" [8].

The communist formation is the last, but not a frozen form of the organization of human society. On the contrary, the more rapid development of all the aspects of the highest type of society and its transition from one stage to another, more perfect stage will begin with the complete triumph of communism.

While reflecting the dialectics of objective social development, human consciousness itself is also developed by the overcoming of contradictions. On the one hand, it is capable of penetrating the depths of things and objects, of foreseeing the future and anticipating events, which is the gnoseological basis of the creative development of science. On the other, elements of inertness and the aspiration to absolutize the significance of established formulas and concepts are characteristic of human consciousness. This aspect of consciousness is the gnoseological source of dogmatism, of which terminological conservatism appears as a characteristic trait.

The affirmation of advanced ideas and the triumph of creative thinking over dogmatism are achieved, as is known, by means of scientific debates. As a result of the discussions of the questions of the dialectics of social development, which have taken place over the past decade, it has been established that there is no special dialectics of capitalism and special dialectics of socialism, that dialectics is a unified, developing science, which reflects the objective laws of reality and serves as a method of its cognition [9].

At the same time unified Marxist-Leninist dialectics has different functions under capitalism and under socialism. The main function of dialectics under capitalism is the negative critical reflection of the obsolete system for the purpose of identifying the means of its revolutionary transformation into socialism. The revisionists disregard the named peculiarity. Their understanding of the new society is based on the dogmatic use of old formulas. The negative critical attitude on the part of the revisionists toward real socialism is a consequence of this. Meanwhile the main function of dialectics under the conditions of socialism is the constructive critical approach to the new system.

In conformity with the objective dialectics of the transition from the past history to the real history of mankind and its further forward movement the elaboration of theoretical principles takes place and the problems of the unity and contradictoriness of the process of the emergence and development of the communist formation are solved. The questions of the concrete historical correlation of the named aspects at the different stages of the building of socialism were thoroughly settled in the works of Lenin, who revealed the main internal and external contradictions which arise in the course of the development of the new society. The thesis formulated by Lenin at the beginning of the transitional period in our country: "Antagonism and contradiction are not at all the same thing. The former is disappearing, the latter will remain under socialism" [2], is a basic, program thesis for the understanding of their essence.

The external antagonistic contradictions are in effect until the complete triumph of world communism. Within the country both antagonistic and nonantagonistic contradictions are simultaneously in effect at the beginning of the emergence of the new formation, under the conditions of the transitional period. With the triumph of socialism and the creation of the moral and political unity of socialist society the class antagonistic contradictions as a source of development disappear, while only contradictions of a nonantagonistic nature remain. The steady strengthening of the unity of society on the basis of the revelation and overcoming of the real contradictions of its development is the most general law of the communist formation.

With the transition to the socialist path of development of newer and newer countries and especially in connection with the entering of Soviet society into the period of mature socialism the urgency and complexity of the named problems increased immeasurably. When elaborating the conception of mature socialism two erroneous points of view had to be overcome. Thus, the opinion was expressed that socialism is a special socioeconomic formation, with its own mode of production and laws of development and during the period of socialism there is no use speaking about the transition to communism. The implementation in practice of such an approach artificially checked the development of new communist elements during the building of socialism. This position was substantiated, for example, on the pages of the book "The Political Economy of Socialism," which was published in the 1960's in the GDR. Some Soviet economists, who asserted that the socialist mode of production in principle differs from the communist mode of production, also shared it. The supporters of the opposite point of view expressed the opinion that socialism is a short-term stage in the process of the emergence of the communist formation. Accordingly, the full-scale movement toward the highest phase of communism begins with the building of its foundation. In particular, the conclusion was drawn that for the most part communism will have already been built in our country in the 1980's. Such an approach was obvious anticipation.

The CPSU jointly with the other fraternal parties overcame the named erroneous assertions and elaborated the conception of mature socialism as a relatively lengthy phase in the process of the emergence of the communist formation. Nevertheless in some books and articles it is still possible to encounter opinions, in which in essence the harmonious nature of the development of mature socialism is absolutized and its real difficulties and contradictions are underestimated. This appears, for example, in the substantiation of the need for the quickest possible merging of nations, the two forms of socialist property and so forth.

Yu. V. Andropov gave a clear, genuinely realistic, truly dialectical characterization of the conception of mature socialism in a report devoted to the 112th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, in which, in particular, he stressed: taken together, the tasks of socioeconomic development "reduce to what can be called the improvement of mature socialism. Our country is at the beginning of this lengthy historical stage, which, in turn, will know its periods, its stages of growth. It does not have to be proven that progress from stage to stage is a most complicated process, which is inevitably connected with the overcoming of arising contradictions and difficulties, as any development is connected with them.... In some areas we will be able to advance more rapidly, in others--more slowly. Such is the real picture of social progress" [3]. The advances theses underwent further development in the article of Yu. V. Andropov "The Teachings of Karl Marx and Some Questions of the Building of Socialism in the USSR." "The most important traits of modern

Soviet society," it is noted in the article, "found reflection in the conception of mature socialism. The dialectical unity of the real gains in the building of socialism, in the accomplishment of many economic, social and cultural tasks of the first phase of communism, the strengthening shoots of the communist future and the still unsolved problems, which were left to us from yesterday, is convincingly shown in it. But this means that some time will be needed in order to pull up the rear units which have fallen behind and to advance further. From the new nature of the contradictions of socialism '...it does not follow that it is possible to disregard the nonantagonistic contradictions, to ignore them in politics'" [4, pp 20, 21]. To think otherwise means to abandon the basis of reality and to deviate from the rudiments of Marxist dialectics and the experience of the building of socialism.

The formulated approach made it possible to specify clearly the strategy and tactics of the CPSU for the next few years and in the more distant future of the building of communism. It cautions against exaggerations in the interpretation of the degree of approximation by the USSR of the highest phase of communism and aims at an adequate understanding of the source of movement from the initial stage of mature socialism to subsequent, higher stages. The timely revelation and overcoming of real contradictions are such a source.

The problem in question is extremely complicated. Suffice it to say that at recent international philosophical, sociological and political science congresses bourgeois scholars have attempted to prove that both under capitalism and under socialism the contradictions of social development are of an identical nature. Consequently, they must be combined into a single system. Such is the latest word of the supporters of the theory of convergence.

It is necessary by way of self-criticism to note that the problems of the contradictions under socialism still do not occupy, in our opinion, the proper place in scientific literature. In many works devoted to the dialectical method either such an examination of the question of contradictions is absent or its coverage is of an abstract scholastic nature; social contradictions, especially of socialist society, frequently are avoided in general. The same philosophers, who are touching on the named problems, are not receiving the proper support and appraisal of the theses being advanced by them. Let us turn to the postwar history of the question. In the philosophical debate of 1947 only one statement was devoted to the contradictions under socialism [10]. The discussion launched after that in 1955 on the pages of the journal VOPROSY FILOSOFII [11] was never concluded. Now a new debate has started in the journal, which in itself is a positive fact. However, in the materials being published it is possible to note two, in our opinion, erroneous trends.

Some authors correctly stress the nonantagonistic nature of the internal contradictions of socialism, but ignore in so doing the effect of the antagonistic contradictions between the two systems. Others identify the transitional period with socialism proper and, by exaggerating the influence of the capitalist world on the socialist countries, draw the conclusion of the existence of social antagonisms in the new society. Thus, A. P. Butenko writes: "About what contradictions of socialism as a social system should it be a question? Those who recognize the contradictions under socialism, most often stress their nonantagonistic nature. It is difficult to agree with such an assertion, if you take into account the historical experience of all the socialist countries" [12].

In this case social class antagonisms are obviously being confused with the vestiges of capitalism, political relations are being confused with moral relations. The classics of Marxism-Leninism repeatedly emphasized that socialist society will not know social class antagonisms, at the level of individual behavior the conflicts frequently can assume a most pointed nature. As for the reference to "the historical experience of all the socialist countries," here the transitional period, of which antagonistic class contradictions are characteristic, is simply being identified with the socialist phase of the development of the communist formation, in which class antagonisms are eliminated.

The conclusion of Marxism-Leninism about the long existence of the vestiges of capitalism and the antipodes of communist morals under the conditions of the first phase of communism received complete confirmation in the experience of the building and development of socialism in various countries. With the elimination of social class antagonisms and the development of the moral and political unity of society new sources and motive forces, which are nonantagonistic in their nature, of the development of society, the laboring classes, socialist nations and labor collectives, as well as the direct vital activity of the individual came into effect and were developed. However, phenomena, which are foreign to the nature of the new system, can arise in the sphere of consumption and everyday relations, especially where educational work and social control have been relaxed. Lenin believed that individual antisocial excesses can occur even at the highest phase of communism. They especially occur under the conditions of socialism, in which nonantagonistic contradictions are in effect. If one ignores them in politics and does not devote proper attention to their timely resolution, they "can give rise to serious clashes" [4, p 21].

In order not to permit such conflicts and to free socialist society, as Lenin demanded, from "the loafers, parasites and embezzlers of public funds," "who preserve the legacy of capitalism," the Soviet people and their state under the guidance of the CPSU are conducting a resolute campaign against all deviations from the principles of socialism and from the norms of communist morals. In this campaign educational measures are being combined with measures of compulsion. The people, who come into irreconcilable conflicts with society, become the bearers of INDIVIDUAL ANTAGONISM. Marx indicated the possibility of its existence in future society [1].

We are opposed to the artificial collecting of subjectivistically far-fetched contradictions. Nevertheless the need has arisen to provide a scientific classification of the contradictions which are in effect in the process of the emergence and development of the communist formation. In our opinion, it is possible to divide these contradictions into three groups.

First, there are permanent contradictions. Inasmuch as the communist formation is a result of all the preceding development of mankind and at the same time the beginning of its genuine history, first of all general sociological contradictions are in effect in the communist formation. However, the nature of their manifestation changes subject to the historical conditions.

Among the general sociological contradictions there are: 1. The contradictions between the two aspects of the mode of production--productive forces and production relations. In precommunist societies the relations between them were antagonistic and were the source of social revolutions. Under the conditions of the emergence

of the communist formation the overcoming of the named contradiction ensures the constant strengthening of the unity of the new society. 2. The contradiction between social existence and social consciousness: both under socialism and under full communism social existence determines and will determine social consciousness. At the same time the latter, while reflecting social existence more and more adequately, will have a greater ability to anticipate the real course of events and to predict their development better. 3. The contradiction between the base and the superstructure. The change of the base always causes the corresponding changes in the superstructure. Under socialism the activeness of the superstructure and its retroaction on the development of the base increase. 4. The contradiction between society and the individual. Being permanent in the new society, it is resolved on the basis of the conscious subordination of personal interests to social interests. Deviation from this principle can lead to anarchy and tyranny. 5. The contradiction between society and nature. Under the conditions of capitalism and the formations preceding it, it is resolved to the detriment of nature. In the process of the emergence of the communist formation the overcoming of the mentioned contradiction is carried out for the purpose of the harmonious development of the named aspects--both the flourishing of society and the restoration of nature and its enrichment.

Second, the basic contradiction of the entire communist formation, which expresses the profound essence of the system, determines the direction of the action of all the other contradictions. The initial methodological assumptions for its understanding were formulated in the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism. From their statements on this question it follows that the contradiction between the steady increase of social production and the needs of the popular masses, which lead it, is of this sort. It ensues from the nature of the new system, its basic economic law. All the activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state is aimed at the maximum satisfaction of the increasing needs of the Soviet people on the basis of the increase of all social production.

The problem of the basic contradiction of socialism has been covered quite comprehensively in our literature [14]. Researchers correctly note that the constant consideration and the timely solution of the problems, which have arisen on the basis of the basic contradiction of socialism, make it possible to develop proportionately the structure of social production, to cultivate reasonable needs and to regulate effectively the matters of labor, production and the distribution of material wealth in conformity with the achieved level of development of the productive forces and with the increase of labor productivity. In revealing the mechanism of the effect at the present stage of the basic motive contradiction of our society, Yu. V. Andropov noted: "It is impossible, of course, to meet the needs which exceed our possibilities. At the same time work in a twofold direction: first, the steady increase of social production and the increase on this basis of the material and culture standard of living of the people; second, the promotion in every way of the elevation of the material and spiritual needs of the Soviet individual, was and will be our indisputable duty" [4, p 15].

Finally, temporary contradictions exist under the conditions of the emergence of the communist formation. Let us indicate only two of the ones which have been in effect for a comparatively long time. First of all for the transition from one stage to another in the development of mature socialism it is necessary to overcome the contradiction between the giant potentials of the new system and the degree of

their use. The decisions of the November (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, in which, in particular, the main link in the chain of tasks of the improvement of mature socialism under present conditions was clearly indicated, are of exceptionally great importance in overcoming this contradiction at the present stage. In a discussion with the workers of a Moscow machine tool building plant General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yu. V. Andropov stressed: "Where, speaking in Lenin's words, is the very link, which one must grasp into order to pull out the entire chain? The chain is large, heavy. And although it is impossible to reduce everything to discipline, one must start, comrades, precisely with it." Further, while explaining why the question of labor discipline was posed so pointedly at the plenum, Yu. V. Andropov said: "first of all this is a requirement of life. Because without proper discipline--labor, planning, state--we will not be able to advance rapidly. The establishment of order actually does not require any capital investments, but yields an enormous impact. Absentees, shoddy workers and loafers do harm not so much to themselves as to the collective, all of society as a whole" [5]. Conscious socialist discipline at all levels ensues from the very social nature of the new system. What has been said, however, does not imply that it forms spontaneously, of its own accord.

The creation of a number of necessary conditions, including the regulation of labor laws and the transformation of the cultivation of high standards of labor into an integral element of the formation of the new man, is required for the establishment of permanent great discipline. The latter is one of the basic tasks of the building of communism. A second contradiction, which is temporary, but is in effect for a long time, is also connected with its accomplishment. The contradictions between the new socialist social existence and the vestiges in the consciousness of people, between knowledge and convictions, between word and deed are overcome and a balanced, comprehensively developed, harmonious personality of the communist type is formed in the process of the formation of the new man. All the ideological and political educational work of the party is aimed at the achievement of these goals. For the proper understanding of the contradiction in question it is important to take into account the following things. When speaking about the existence under socialism of vestiges in the consciousness of people, it would be incorrect to mean all the members of society. Values and aims, which are equal to socialism, hold the central place in the consciousness of the majority of them. At the same time it would be incorrect to reduce the problem to vestiges in the psychology and behavior of only separate individuals. In such a case the need for the communist education of the masses would disappear. In reality the contradiction between word and deed, between the advocacy of the lofty principles of communist humanism and a narrow-minded psychology, between the appeals for collectivism and the egotistic aspiration for individual well-being at the expense of others and so on is characteristic of a certain portion of the people who belong to different social groups. This moral dichotomy of the individual is incompatible with the socialist and, to an even greater extent, the communist way of life.

Experience shows that it is comparatively easier to acquire knowledge than to turn it into firm and unshakable communist convictions which are realizable in deed. And here in practice the transforming activity acts as a criterion of whether knowledge is verbal ballast or an effective means of solving the arising problems on the path of the building of communism.

Such are the basic groups of contradictions which are in effect at the present stage in our society. Its further progress will have a greater and greater influence on world development. At the same time it is necessary to consider that Soviet society is developing in an atmosphere of the confrontation of the two systems, which has especially intensified in recent times. The attempts to create a strain in the Soviet economy, ideological and political sabotage, the broadening of the scale of psychological warfare--all these actions of the reactionary imperialist circles have the aim to aggravate artificially the contradictions inherent in socialism and to strengthen the adverse consequences of the mistakes which stem from factors of a subjective order. The research in the area of social science, it is noted in the report of K. U. Chernenko "Urgent Questions of the Ideological, Mass Political Work of the Party" at the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "should be based on the reality which exists, with all its pluses and minuses, should reveal more completely the objective laws of social development.... Today the comprehensive study of the nonantagonistic contradictions inherent in mature socialism and the peculiarities of their resolution under the conditions of the strengthening sociopolitical and ideological unity of Soviet society is required" [14].

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THE LENKORAN EXPERIMENT

SOCIOLOGICAL SERVICE ATTACHED TO THE PARTY COMMITTEE

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[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Gennadiy Semenovitch Batygin, senior scientific associate of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Secretary of the Lenkoran City Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Gusyenaga Arab ogly Ganiyev, member of the USSR Union of Writers and the USSR Union of Journalists: "The Applied Scientific Potential of the Sociological Service Attached to the Party Committee"]

[Text] The increase of the effectiveness of ideological activity requires the constant improvement of the forms and methods of educational influence. The task of reorganizing ideological work, which was posed by the 26th party congress, presumes an orientation first of all toward its end result--the strengthening of the communist principles in the way of life of the Soviet people, the formation of their active position in life and the eradication of antisocial manifestations and deviations from the norms of socialist morals and law and order. The essence of the reorganization outlined by the congress consists in the shift of the center of gravity to the effectiveness and efficacy of the forms and methods of education. At the same time experience shows that the ultimate impact frequently remains outside the stereotypes which have formed in ideological work, many of which no longer correspond to the increased level of the education and culture of the population.

Much work is being performed by party committees and public organizations on the explanation to the working people of the basic directions of the socioeconomic policy of the CPSU and questions of international relations, organs of mass information and propaganda and a branched network of political and economic training are in operation. The role of the ideological complex in the increase of the political culture and informedness of the Soviet people is great. However, its functions are incomparably broader: "education acts as one of the most important channels of the interconnection between society and the individual, as an influence of the way of life on the process of the formation and development of the personality" [5, p 5]. The effectiveness of ideological influence in many ways determines the life values and priorities of people, their real behavior in the sphere of labor and daily life, the successful accomplishment of not only political educational, but

G. S. Batygin is the author of a number of works on the problems of social indicators. He has more than once published works in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA. G. A. Ganiyev is publishing a work in our journal for the first time.

also economic tasks. Therefore it is not enough to evaluate the effectiveness of ideological work by the number of implemented ideological measures proper. What is the specific result of educational influence? The settlement of this question in many ways depends on the strengthening of the alliance of sociological science and practice. The problem consists not only in the improvement of the content and methods of ideological work, particularly propaganda, but also in the creation of effective scientific and organizational forms of the study and evaluation of the existing situation, as well as the achievement of the outlined gains. First, reliable measurers--a system of accurate and objective indicators, which reflect the different directions and aspects of ideological activity, and, second, the procedural support of the changes being planned are needed.

The sociological service is one of these scientific and organizational forms. Its emergence is a thoroughly natural process which is governed, on the one hand, by the increase of the authority of professional sociology and, on the other, by the vital needs of the practice of social management. Professional sociology to a greater and greater extent is based on the network of sociological centers, laboratories and groups attached to party committees, enterprises and institutions, which is being systematically enlarged. Centers for the study of public opinion and public councils of sociological research have been set up in a number of republics, krais and oblasts. "They are all rich in sociological enthusiasm, but need daily assistance, the standardization of scientific documents and specific procedural manuals, guides and handbooks. Meanwhile, this extremely important work on the development of applied sociological research in fact has still not been properly started," A. G. Kharchev writes [6, p 68]. On a broader level it is a question of the search for the optimum organizational forms of the integration of science and practice. For research institutions the sociological service is becoming a reliable "testing ground," where the recommendations of scholars are tested and checked experimentally. Party, soviet and economic organs are interested in it as an effective tool of social management and planning. Thus, it is possible to assert with confidence that the sociological service--a new form of cooperation of science and practice, to which life itself gave rise--is playing an important role in the increase of the effectiveness of economic organizing and political educational activity.

"Sociological research, being a reliable channel of information on the state of affairs locally, is promoting the scientific analysis of modern phenomena and processes and is helping to identify the shortcomings and oversights, to determine the proper means of their elimination, to reveal and to use better the available reserves and to evaluate the conditions which contribute to the increase of the effectiveness of party propaganda. It is acting to a greater and greater extent as one of the important components of the making of decisions," it is noted in the decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan "On the Further Improvement of the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research in the Republic in Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress" [2]. The work on the fulfillment of this decree under the supervision of the Center for the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan has also been launched in Lenkoranskiy Rayon of the republic. Here definite organizational and research experience has been gained, unsolved problems, which in many ways are typical for the sociological services attached to party committees, also exist [3]. What is the specific nature of the tasks which are being accomplished by the sociological service attached to the party

committee? What are the methods of using sociological information in political educational work? How does one optimize the system of indicators which are used when evaluating the labor and public activeness of the population? Is it possible to suggest a model structure of the public council of sociological research? An attempt to answer these questions is made in this article.

First of all the goals and functions of the sociological service attached to the party committee should be examined. Much literature on this has been published, but in many publications it is easy to note the absolutization of the possibilities of the sociological methods of surveying and inattention to the professional aspect of the activity of the services. This situation is due to a number of reasons. Without touching for the present upon the first and main one of them--the lack of specialists--let us indicate the prevalence in the mass consciousness of notions about sociology as a kind of "panacea." The stereotype of the sociologist, which is cultivated in fiction--a superintellectual know-it-all, who is equipped with cunning methods of probing the inner world of the respondent--also plays a great role here. Of course, the purely external aspects of sociological work come to the forefront, while the genuine professionalism, which entails the painstaking analysis of data and the elaboration of recommendations, falls from the field of vision. Many hopes of experienced workers do not come true precisely due to the lack of professionalism in the activity of sociologists and the absolutization of the possibilities of the written questionnaire.

It seems that the solution of this problem should be sought in the patronage of scientific research institutions over sociological services and in the strengthening of the cooperation of scientists and party workers. Experience shows that the scientific supervision of research, the compiling of programs and sets of tools, the training and instruction of interviewers should become the main tasks of professionals in the patronage over public sociological services. The need for the elaboration of model programs and sets of tools by the leading sociological centers of the country arose long ago. All these are prerequisites of the professionalism and high quality of applied research. Procedurally irreproachable research promotes the more thorough understanding of the social situation and the realization of the ripe problems and helps to identify the shortcomings and to take steps on their correction.

When speaking about the increase of the professional level of the sociological service attached to the party committee, it is impossible not to consider that this is a lengthy and complex process, which consists of a number of successive stages, one of which is mass written questionnaires. An unquestionable positive aspect of this trend is the broadening of the horizon of economic organizing and ideological work, the increase of the attention to the social and spiritual aspects of social development: value orientations, the attitude toward labor, the vital priorities of different groups of the population, the processes taking place in the sphere of the family and daily life, mass information, budgets of time, consumer behavior and so forth.

Here practice is leading theory. Sociological research has become one of the effective means of the realization of the comprehensive approach in the management of economic, social and spiritual processes and is becoming more and more prevalent in a situation which with every reason can be called paradoxical: research is being performed everywhere, but a system of the vocational training of sociologists has not yet been created. Such a situation is fraught with serious negative

consequences both for sociological science and for practice. "The lack of the training of sociology specialists at the higher school is now a serious obstacle in the development of sociological research in the country," it was noted in an editorial of the journal KOMMUNIST [4, p 83].

First of all it is necessary to indicate the failure to observe the elementary procedural demands which are made both on the tools of the gathering of information and on the procedure of the mass survey. The well-known misconception "If it is necessary to find out something, ask" assumes at times in questionnaires completely anecdotal forms, for example, "Indicate how developed your active position in life is?" Not only such blunders, but also any carelessness in the set of tools are capable of compromising the important and useful work.

As to the increase of the scientific methods level and quality of information, this is entirely feasible. At least it is obvious: the problem is being solved by the training and attraction of highly skilled specialists. Another ripe question of the activity of the sociological services attached to party committees is more complicated. As was already noted, the conducting of surveys constitutes its basic content. However, the present stage of the building of socialism is placing in the forefront the demand to increase the practical return of sociological research and to enhance its role in the substantiation and implementation of management decisions. It would be an oversimplification to assume that mass surveys of the population are becoming obsolete. Spontaneous amateur surveying is becoming the yesterday of Soviet sociology. In our opinion, the main thing, which it is necessary to achieve in the improvement of the activity of the sociological services of party committees, is the strengthening of the applied orientation of sociological developments.

What is the difficulty of solving this problem? Practical experience shows that the established division of basic and applied research, academic (including of higher educational institutions) and plant sociology is of an arbitrary nature. The criteria, which are advanced when discussing this question in scientific literature, in many ways are abstract. For example, the gathering and analysis of empirical information constitute an essential part of basic sociological research and are not the prerogative of the applied sociologist, who has every opportunity for thorough and serious generalizations which conform to the level of basic developments. The activity of the sociological services attached to party committees on this level is also not an exception. In spite of the specific nature of the problems being worked on, the orientation toward the corresponding region and the peculiarities of the composition of the personnel, the sociological work under the auspices of the party committee has a pronounced scientific research orientation. This is fully justified, since the main task of the sociological service consists in the study of some aspects or others of social development. At the same time the orientation toward the gathering and analysis of empirical data is a necessary, but not an adequate condition of the applied study and the use of its practical potential. Experience shows that many studies, which are conducted by the sociological services attached to party committees, culminate only in extremely theoretical conclusions, in spite of the broad empirical base. "For all the importance of empirical information as a source of social knowledge the existence of it and of an interest in it still does not constitute any specific peculiarity of sociological science," A. G. Kharchev notes [6, p 63]. This makes it possible only to study and comprehend the leading forms and methods of increasing the

efficiency and quality of work, that is, again to follow practice, and not to lead it.

The well-known gap between the orientation and themes of research, on the one hand, and the real needs of economic organizing and ideological work, on the other, is due to the inadequate attention to the applied aspects of the activity of the services. In our opinion, the specific nature of applied sociology consists in the orientation toward a specific useful result, first of all the elaboration of effective organizational forms and methods of the accomplishment of specific tasks of social and economic development. Thus, the basic goal of the activity of the sociological service is the elaboration of practical recommendations on the introduction of effective organizational forms of management and planning (see the Appendix).

In speaking about the introduction of the results of research, it would be illegitimate to reduce the practical effectiveness to the solution of utilitarian problems. The very fact of the appeal to the working people and the study of their needs and interests and public opinion concerning various phenomena and processes evoke an extensive public response and are of great propagandistic and political educational importance. The mass survey serves not only as a means of gathering information. It forms public opinion and makes it possible to reveal in good time the shortcomings and to take steps on their elimination. The experience of the activity of the Council of Sociological Research in Lenkoran shows that the practical use of the results of research can be accomplished already at the stage of the analysis and interpretation of the data. The most effective form of this work is the discussion of the results of the survey in the labor collectives. The traditional social statistical distributions are filled with a specific content, and here the problems requiring immediate solution become clearer and more distinct. For example, the study of the satisfaction of the workers of one of the enterprises of the rayon with various aspects of labor revealed that 57.7 percent are content with the amount of the material incentive, while only 12.6 percent are content with the procedure of the distribution of bonuses. This discrepancy of the indicators in itself attests to certain shortcomings, while the discussion of this question by the collective helped to identify its specific causes. It was found that the dissatisfaction with the procedure of distributing the bonuses stems from the imperfection of the evaluations which are used when tallying the results of the socialist competition. The collective proposed indicators which reflect the specific labor contribution of the worker. A resurvey revealed that the level of satisfaction with this aspect of labor activity had increased by several times. Thus, the discussion of the results of a study in the collective helps not only to specify, but also to solve existing problems. The traditional survey methods, no matter how perfect they may be, provide only the basic material for practical work. In our opinion, the collective discussion of the results should become a necessary stage of the activity of the sociological services. The experience of other party committees attests to this. Thus, A. V. Myalovitskiy and V. I. Patrushev note that the formation of public opinion about the social problems of an enterprise is the most important prerequisite of the effective use of recommendations [13, p 256]. It should be stated that this form of the practical introduction of sociological developments formed, it can be said, spontaneously, by trial and error. On this level it is impossible not to express some grievances against sociological methods experts. Whereas the procedures of the gathering and the mathematical statistical analysis of information have received detailed coverage in the literature, the methods of the

practical implementation of results have not been elaborated at all and remain a matter of the creative imagination of experienced workers. The procedure of "involvement in a study," which was proposed by L. G. Borisova [14], to all appearances, is the only fruitful attempt to regulate procedurally the process of introduction.

Of course, the activity of the sociological service cannot be confined to the conducting of surveys and the discussion of their results. The applied study is a complex process which passes through a number of successive stages. The main ones of them are the clarification of the problem situation, the determination of the specific goals and tasks, the carrying out of the gathering and analysis of information, the choice and substantiation of practical decisions. The organizational status and the functions of the sociological service in Lenkoran, which is a research, scientific advisory organ attached to the party committee, are determined by this, but its main purpose is the elaboration of practical recommendations on the increase of the effectiveness of economic organizing and political educational activity (see the Appendix).

What is the specific nature of the tasks which are accomplished by the sociological service attached to the party committee? Party activity is the unified process of the political guidance of the development of socialist society. Organizing and political work among the masses, the management of economic and cultural construction, state and public organizations--such are the most important aspects of the activity of the party [15, p 5]. They are all an object of sociological study, therefore the scientific research and advisory work of the sociological service attached to the party committee is of a complex nature. This does not mean that the service should undertake the solution of all arising problems. The effectiveness of the party political supervision of various spheres of economic, social and spiritual life in many ways depends on the choice of the main, key link. The reorganization of ideological and political educational work is one such link. "For all the importance of other questions... ideological work is being brought to the forefront more and more," Yu. V. Andropov indicated in a speech at the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum [16].

Here it is hardly legitimate to regard ideological work as a special exclusive sphere of political education, all the more so to reduce it to the acquisition of political knowledge. The question is much broader: What are the organizational forms of the purposeful use of the objective and subjective factors of the formation of the socialist way of life and the cultivation of a communist world outlook?

It seems that the leading role in the reorganization of ideological work belongs not to the system of propaganda, but to the improvement of the decisive sphere of the way of life--the content and nature of labor.

First, any propaganda efforts, which are aimed at the cultivation of a communist world outlook, become ineffective, if the main organizational and economic problems have not been solved. Order in economic organizing work and the tightening up of discipline are a necessary prerequisite of the systematic increase of the effectiveness of political educational influence. Therefore in the Statute on the Council of Sociological Research Attached to the Lenkoran City Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan (see the Appendix) the effectiveness of political educational work appears in unity with the accomplishment of economic organizing tasks. This

also finds reflection in the system of indicators which are used in sociological research.

Second, the formation of the world outlook of the Soviet people and the cultivation of high political and moral qualities are achieved only under the influence of the means of propaganda and mass information. Here it is also impossible to underestimate the role of the immediate social environment, the aims of everyday consciousness, opinions and evaluations, which exist in different sociocultural strata. As the studies in Lenkoran showed, the majority of events of the sociopolitical life of the rayon, the republic and the country as a whole are discussed in the course of the interpersonal contact of relatives, friends and fellow workers. This is especially characteristic of young people, who devote more than three-fourths of their free time to contact. Usually interpersonal communication as a channel of political educational influence is used inadequately, while it contains considerable reserves. In particular, the established system of propaganda is based, as a rule, on notification and persuasion. This especially comes through in lectures, discussions and political information sessions, in which the use of the psychological mechanism of emotional and figurative inspiration performs a secondary, subordinate role. Meanwhile they are of great importance when forming the life aims and values, which directly determine the way of life and behavioral orientations of the individual--the end result of educational influence.

Let us cite an example. In Lenkoran mass political educational measures, in which thousands of people participate, have become a tradition. These are the Harvest Holiday, the Requiem to the Memory of Those Who Fell During the Years of the Great Patriotic War and the holiday of the book. Sociological studies showed that enormous reserves of emotional and figurative ideological influence are incorporated in this form of work. The celebration in honor of the leaders of production and the best labor collectives at the Harvest Holiday increases the publicity of the socialist competition and strengthens the prestige of the man of labor. The very atmosphere of the general festival, which marks the completion of the next year of the five-year plan, is a mighty sociopsychological factor, which increases the impact of an ideological measure.

The use of the most effective forms and means of education is a necessary prerequisite of the comprehensive approach to ideological work. Here the dissemination and promotion of a communist attitude toward labor, the achievements of the leaders of production and the norms of the socialist way of life occupy the main place. At the same time the system of political educational influence cannot but take into account the real picture of the way of life of different categories of working people, including deviant behavior. The comprehensive analysis of these circumstances is one of the prerequisites of the comprehensive approach to education. It is backed, in particular, by the creation of a system of social indicators, which reflect the basic traits and peculiarities of labor, daily life, sociopolitical and cultural activity.

The creation of a reliable and effective system of indicators is the most important prerequisite of the successful activity of the service. The problems of the substantiation and use of the indicators have received detailed coverage in the literature. With reference to the activity of the sociological service it makes sense to distinguish two categories of them. First, they should ensure the relative accuracy and reliability of the information, that is, should be reliable measurers

of the real state of one phenomenon or another. This requires the observance of the known procedural instructions on the designing of field studies. Second, they act as guidelines of management activity, reflecting the intermediate or end results of social development. Meanwhile in the practice of ideological work a situation frequently arises, when the indicators are aimed not so much at the ultimate impact as at the number and content of the implemented measures. For example, the coverage of the members of the collective by public work, the expenditures of time on the performance of assignments, participation in the preparation and holding of meetings and conferences and the number of lectures, discussions and political information sessions characterize only the organizational aspect of political educational activity. The need of such indicators for practice does not raise doubts, but the main task of the sociological service attached to the party committee consists, in our opinion, in the elaboration and introduction of indicators of the attitude of people toward labor, the interrelationship of material and spiritual needs, the structure of the way of spending spare time, value orientations and the observance of the norms of socialist morals and law and order. When solving this problem, it is also impossible not to take into account the real possibilities of the sociological measurement of spiritual and ideological processes. "During the preliminary appraisal of the research problem it is important not only to ensure its proper understanding and to eliminate the ambiguous interpretation of the terms or the end results," G. T. Zhuravlev notes, "but also to ascertain the practicability of the implementation of the solution of this problem" [12, p 81]. It is difficult, as a rule, to express ideological processes in a strictly quantitative form. Consolidated indicators of the effectiveness of party work according to each of its directions have been proposed in the literature [11], but many of them do not lend themselves to quantitative expression. It is impossible to record by reporting forms or by survey methods the increase of the ideological and political level of the working people, the improvement of the forms and methods of propaganda, the increase of political consciousness, the formation of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook and other criteria of political educational work. However, they are quite accessible to indirect study by the sociological analysis of the opinions, appraisals, interests and real behavior of different social groups and strata. Here it is not at all mandatory, as is frequently done, to elaborate a complicated set of procedural tools and to make up subtle questions on a test basis. The main thing consists in the systematic, detailed analysis of "ordinary" indicators, which are supported by traditional, more reliable research procedures. Precisely the analysis and interpretation of the obtained data are the key link of the sociological substantiation of the forms and methods of educational influence.

Let us cite in this connection a specific example. The sociological study of 1980 showed that 83 percent of the families of industrial workers and 97 percent of the rural workers of Lenkoran have up to 50 books in their home libraries. Of course, school textbooks make up a significant portion of them. If this elementary indicator is analyzed in the context of the effectiveness of political educational work, the task of the utmost increase of the cultural level and the development of the spiritual needs of these social groups becomes obvious. Without acquaintance with the book--the most important source of spiritual values and means of education--the effectiveness of the entire ideological complex decreases. Practical measures (competitions of home libraries, meetings with writers and journalists, mass book holidays) made it possible already in 1982 to achieve definite results: the number of libraries containing from 50 to 200 books increased among urban workers by 7 percent and among rural workers by 8 percent. Perhaps, such a situation is specific

to the life style of the Lenkoran population, but it is obvious that the simplest measurer can play an important role in the planning of ideological work.

The system of indicators, which are used by the sociological service attached to the party committee, should take into account not only the criteria of the reliability and simplicity of the data, but also the requirement of their compactness and efficiency. It is a question of the problem of the sharing of information, which is frequently discussed in the literature. It is well known that the party committee systematically analyzes the data on the fulfillment of the production plans and the output norms, the amount of housing being put into operation, the rate of attendance of institutions of culture and personal service, the supply of the population with goods, the number of offenses and so forth. The number of indicators of intraparty work is large. In a year hundreds of typed pages of inquiries, reports, statistical forms and other textual information pass through the bodies of the city and rayon committees. Of course, the results of sociological studies cannot replace the established information system and especially become a "makeweight" to it. Therefore it is important to specify clearly the structural hierarchy of sociological indicators, which of them are the key, problem ones and which should be the subject of current social statistical record keeping. Two basic methodological approaches are possible here. The first presumes the a priori classification of the indicators subject to their importance and topicality. However, within the framework of this approach it is not always possible to take into account and to react rapidly to arising problems. In our opinion, the second approach, which is oriented toward the problem content of the indicators, is more productive. It is based on the concept of "deviation" control, which was elaborated in the theory of information systems. Its essence consists in the fact that only those indicators, which "warn" of a deviation from the planned trend or norm, become the object of special examination and management measures. Here the problem indicators acquire primary importance. Such an approach presumes quite clear notions about the goals and standards of activity and makes it possible to determine the "bottlenecks" in political educational work. The organization of the system of "deviation" indicators requires the creation of a system of current social statistical record keeping, which is based on the study of the long-term trends of social development. This goal is attainable only in case of the introduction of repeated and panel studies in accordance with comparable variables.

The system of indicators, which is being developed by the Council of Sociological Research attached to the Lenkoran City Party Committee, is based on two sources of information: current statistical reporting and the materials of repeated mass surveys of the population, which are conducted with an interval of 1 year according to a random stratified sample. The enterprises and organizations, which are most typical for the socio-occupational structure of the rayon, are specified at its first stage. The mechanical sampling without repetition of respondents in accordance with the registered staff is made within the enterprises. The size of the sampled population comes to 500-600 people and ensures a representativeness, which is acceptable for sociological studies, for the population of Lenkoran, who are employed in industrial and agricultural production and at institutions of culture, education and health care.

Let us dwell on the content and structure of the sociological indicators. The system includes the following basic sections: labor activity, the increase of the level of well-being, the improvement of the material and spiritual needs of the

population; sociopolitical activeness, the effectiveness of ideological work, the structure of free time, the basic types of pastime; public opinion on violations of the norms of social morals and law and order. Specific indicators (see the Appendix), which are supported by tabulated social statistical information subject to the socio-occupational affiliation, sex or age of the respondent, are contained within each "block." Breakdowns by the surveyed enterprises individually are given in a number of instances.

There is no need here to analyze in detail the results of the surveys conducted by the service. Some of them have already been covered on the pages of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA [7, 8, 9]. In order to reveal the logic of the analysis and the mechanism of "deviation" control, let us touch upon two themes which have a direct bearing on the practical realization of the indicators being used. They are the appraisal by working people of the work of institutes of cultural, personal service and health care and the opinions on violations of the norms of socialist morals and law and order.

In the literature it has been noted that "negative" indicators are more meaningful for the taking of practical steps, although the use as the base variable of the number of those who expressed a negative appraisal may also seem awkward [7]. The studies in Lenkoran revealed that in this case a greater differentiation of the appraisals is also achieved. Thus, in 1980 public dining enterprises, medical institutions and trade were the greatest "bottlenecks" of consumer service (see Table 1). In 1982 the resurvey helped to reveal the effectiveness of the taken steps: the appraisals of the work of medical institutions increased substantially, but trade and public dining for the present are poorly meeting the needs of the population. When analyzing the appraisals of the respondents it is impossible also not to take into account the number of those who did not respond--an indirect indicator of the degree of formation of an opinion on one issue or another. For example, the fact that more than half of those surveyed cannot evaluate the work of the house of personal services, attests to the inadequate coverage of the population by this form of service.

Table 1

Opinions of Those Surveyed on the State of Consumer Service

	1980		1982	
	Expressed dissatis- faction, percent	Did not respond, percent	Expressed dissatis- faction, percent	Did not respond, percent
Institutions of culture, personal service and health care				
Medical institutions.	11.2	24.1	5.2	25.1
Movie theaters.	5.7	35.0	8.1	34.3
Theater	7.5	42.2	7.5	42.1
House of personal service	3.7	54.4	2.5	54.7
Public dining	10.2	43.3	12.0	51.2
House of culture.	5.1	36.8	4.1	12.5
Libraries	2.5	43.5	3.6	15.7
Trade enterprises	17.3	39.4	17.8	26.3

One of the most difficult problems of the activity of the sociological service is the analysis of displays of deviant behavior and the formulation of effective recommendations on their prevention. This direction is closely connected with the work of law enforcement organs on the prevention of crime. At the same time the functions of the sociological service are much broader, first of all the observance of the norms of the socialist way of life in the sphere of labor, daily life and interpersonal relations is the subject of its research. "When waging an intense struggle against the militant antipodes of communist morals, at times we lose sight of the spiritual flaws in man," I. A. Mamedov writes. "These are rudeness and loutishness, disrespect for people and vanity, the reluctance to take into consideration the opinion of comrades and morbid ambition" [10, p 57]. The difficulty of the sociological study of the prevalence of such manifestations and deviant behavior as a whole is obvious, but the evaluation of the effectiveness of educational activity without regard for these indicators would be incomplete.

Table 2

Opinions of Working People on Violations of the Norms of the Socialist Way of Life, Percent

Type of deviant behavior	Answers of respondents			
	Frequent	Rare	Is not encountered	Did not respond
Unconscientious attitude toward labor. . .	25.0	17.5	27.5	30.0
Toadyism, servility.	27.5	13.7	26.2	32.5
Aspiration to take more than one gives to people.	15.0	13.7	18.7	52.3
Greed.	30.0	13.7	18.7	37.5
Abuse of alcoholic beverages	16.2	22.5	15.0	46.2
Frivolous attitude toward rearing children	21.2	17.5	20.0	41.2
Hooliganism, fights, thefts.	6.2	12.5	36.2	45.0
Unscrupulous attitude toward life ("pulling strings," good turns for acquaintances)	15.0	13.7	22.5	48.0
Acts and statements, which wound the national feelings of a person.	3.7	7.5	33.7	48.0
Use of unprintable expressions	2.5	18.7	30.0	55.0
Hypocrisy, sanctimoniousness	8.7	16.2	25.5	50.0
Rudeness with subordinates	2.5	12.5	31.2	53.0
Slander, calumny	3.7	12.5	31.2	52.5
Marital infidelity	5.0	10.0	35.0	50.0

The indirect "expert" question about whether some instances of deviant behavior or others are frequently encountered, is envisaged by the sociological studies in Lenkoran (see Table 2). In the opinion of the respondents, an unconscientious attitude toward labor, toadyism and servility and a frivolous attitude toward rearing children are still frequent. The eradication of these phenomena is not limited, in our opinion, to the use of measures of educational influence. The reform of social consciousness is a lengthy and complex process, which requires the comprehensive use of not only means of persuasion, but also compulsion and the creation of an intolerant atmosphere with respect to the violators of the norms of socialist morals and law and order.

The gained experience of the activity of the sociological services attached to party committees shows that they have a great practical potential in the matter of increasing the effectiveness of economic organizing and ideological work. At the same time there are also unsolved problems, among which the increase of the practical return of the research and scientific advisory activity of the services and its orientation toward not only the identification of the real trends and processes, but also the elaboration of effective decisions are most urgent. "Science should be a constant 'disturber of the peace,' showing in what sections stagnation and lagging have been noted, where the present level of knowledge makes it possible to advance more rapidly, more successfully" [1, p 43]. The main thing, which party workers expect from sociologists, consists in this.

The June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum marked a new stage in the strengthening of the alliance of sociological science and practice. In a speech at the plenum General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yu. V. Andropov noted: "A resolute turn toward the real, practical tasks, which life is posing for our society, is necessary" [16]. Systematic scientific studies of the effectiveness of educational work and the extensive introduction of the experience in the creation for these purposes of sociological scientific methods centers and groups will play a most important role in the implementation of the decree "Urgent Questions of the Ideological, Mass Political Work of the Party," which was adopted by the plenum.

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Appendix 1

Statute on the Council of Sociological Research Attached to the Lenkoran City Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan

The Council of Sociological Research is a part of the Scientific Methods Center attached to the Lenkoran City Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan. It is called upon to promote in every possible way the fulfillment of the Decree of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum "Urgent Questions of the Ideological, Mass Political Work of the Party," the raising of this work to the level of the great and difficult tasks, which the party is working on in the process of improving mature socialism. In its activity the council bases itself on the Leninist principle of the unity of economic organizing and ideological, cultural educational work, on the public needs for a precisely operating mechanism of feedback as a condition of the efficient use of the richest arsenal of means of education and training, which is at our disposal, on the instructions of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum "to conduct systematic scientific studies of the effectiveness of educational work."

When preparing and conducting studies the council is guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the instructions of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yu. V. Andropov that "the formation of the consciousness of communists and all the citizens of our socialist society is a matter of not only professional ideologists, propagandists and workers of the mass media. It is a matter of the entire party."

Inasmuch as the consideration of the dialectics of the general, particular and individual and of the specific nature of the specific conditions, under which ideological processes take place, is one of the most important prerequisites of the

reliability of scientific results, when specifying the themes of studies and the means of introducing sociological recommendations in practice the council bases itself on the decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan "On the Further Improvement of the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research in the Republic in Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress."

I. The Goal of the Activity of the Council

The systematic study of the problems of ideological, educational activity, social and economic development, which require organizational and management decisions on the level of the city and rayon committees of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, the elaboration of scientifically sound suggestions and forecasts, which are designed for use in the practical work of party organizations, the study of the consequences of the introduction of these suggestions in practice, the generalization of the advanced social and ideological experience of labor collectives, the study of new, advanced methods of party organizational and ideological, mass political work.

II. The Basic Functions and Tasks of the Council

1. The study of the problems of economic and social development on the instructions of the City Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan; the provision of assistance to city and rayon organizations, enterprises, sovkhozes and institutions in the compiling and improvement of the plans of socioeconomic development.
2. The conducting of systematic repeated studies of the effectiveness of ideological work with different groups of the population, the scientific substantiation of the plans of the improvement of the activity of ideological personnel, institutions and organizations.
3. The determination of the optimum means and forms of the implementation of the results of studies in the work of the city committee, the rayon and primary party organizations.
4. The study of the possibilities of increasing the effectiveness of ideological, educational influence on the population of the city and rayon through: a) the labor collectives of shops, brigades and links; b) the family and the system of informal contact.
5. The experimental checking of new, more effective forms of political and economic training, propaganda and agitation, the methods of the strengthening of their practical orientation, the increase of the activeness of the audience, the eradication of scholastic theorizing, schematism and formalism in mass political work.
6. The refinement--as applied to local conditions--of the system of sociological indicators, their introduction in the practice of research and the evaluation of the state of ideological, educational activity.
7. The analysis of statistical information and documents on the activity of the enterprises, sovkhozes and institutions of the city and rayon.

8. The compilation of scientific reports on the results of the conducted studies and the discussion of the most important of them (on the instruction of the city committee) at the meetings of the ideological aktiv or labor collectives.

9. Participation in the preparation of the decisions of the City Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan in accordance with the results of the conducted studies.

10. The increase of the ideological and theoretical level and occupational skill of ideological personnel, the systematic broadening and extension of the knowledge of sociologist-social scientists.

11. The organization of the activity of the office of sociological research.

12. Participation in the promotion of Marxist-Leninist sociology, the furthering of the formation among economic and ideological workers and all the working people of economic and sociological thinking.

III. The Organizational Structure, the Forms and Methods of the Activity of the Council

The composition of the council is approved by the Bureau of the City Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan. Representatives of the party, ideological, trade union, Komsomol and economic aktiv, staff members of the statistical administration and the organs of mass information and propaganda are members of the council.

The council consists of research groups on the following problems:

1. The effectiveness of ideological, mass political work.

2. The education of young people and their preparation for the performance of the civic duties of the members of mature socialist society.

3. The moral and psychological climate of labor collectives and the stimulation of labor; socialist competition and the means of increasing its effectiveness.

4. The strengthening of the family, the development of the sphere of personal service and leisure.

5. The reaction of public opinion to the measures being implemented by party and soviet organizations and institutions.

6. Sociocultural activity and education, their influence on the traditions and customs of the population.

7. The prevention of antisocial behavior, the effectiveness of prevailing legislation.

The school of young sociologists is a separate subdivision of the council.

The chairman of the council (the secretary of the city party committee) and his deputy (the chief of the propaganda and agitation department) compile the plan of work of the council, ensure the planning and organization of the activity of the research groups, convene not less than once a quarter meetings of the council, organize applied science conferences for the examination of problems which require collective discussion, establish contact with the Center for the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, the Azerbaijan Department of the Soviet Sociological Association and the collective consultant of the council--the editorial board of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA.

In its work the council relies on the action groups which are created under the auspices of the party organizations of enterprises, sovkhozes and institutions of the city and rayon.

The work in the council of sociological research is for its members an important public assignment, which requires political responsibility and scientific methods training.

The members of the council are obliged to increase systematically their own ideological and theoretical level and sociological skill; in the course of research to follow steadfastly the requirements of the program and the scientific methods norms of the sociological survey, to strive for the maximum objectivity and the high quality of the information being obtained.

The problems and studies, which are of republicwide or unionwide interest, are submitted by the council in consultation with the city committee for discussion by the Azerbaijan Department of the Soviet Sociological Association, republic organizations, the sections and Presidium of the Soviet Sociological Association, the editorial board of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, the Scientific Council of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Appendix 2

The System of Sociological Indicators Which Are Used in the Annual Surveys of the Working People of Lenkoran

The general characteristics of the object of the study; the sociodemographic composition, the structure of employment of the population. The indicators of representativeness.

1. Labor Activity

1.1. The evaluation by the workers of the surveyed enterprises and organizations of the social and economic factors of labor activity

1.2. The opinions of the different categories of those surveyed on the causes of the turnover of personnel.

2. The Level of Well-Being and the Elevation of the Needs of the Population

2.1. The domestic object environment. The presence of durable goods and the orientation toward their acquisition

- 2.2. The appraisal by the working people of the activity of institutions of culture, personal service and health care
- 2.3. The satisfaction with wages and material security
- 2.4. Housing conditions
- 3. The Sociopolitical Activeness of the Working People and the Effectiveness of Mass Political Work
 - 3.1. The participation of the working people in the system of political and economic training
 - 3.2. The evaluation of the effectiveness of agitation and propaganda measures
 - 3.3. Television as a channel of mass information. The orientations of the population toward the content of television broadcasts
 - 3.4. The development of sociocultural and spiritual needs. The personal libraries of different categories of the population
- 4. The Structure of Free Time. The Basic Types of Pastime
- 5. Public Opinion on Violations of the Norms of the Soviet Way of Life
- 6. The Practical Suggestions and Remarks of the Workers of the Surveyed Enterprises and Institutions on the Improvement of Organizing, Mass Political and Economic Activity

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EXPERIENCE OF THE INTRODUCTION OF SOCIOLOGICAL RECOMMENDATIONS

MOSCOW FAMILY SERVICE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 83 (signed to press 20 Jul 83) pp 85-91

[Article by Alla Fedorovna Severina, chief of the Department for Questions of the Family and Marriage of the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet, and Galina Aleksandrovna Zaikina, junior scientific associate of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Family Service and Questions of Its Further Improvement"]

[Text] The present level of development of marital and family relations and the existence of an entire set of problems, which are connected with the family and are of considerable importance from the point of view of the socioeconomic development of our society as a whole, require the active elaboration of the theoretical and practical aspects of the implementation of an effective social policy in this sphere. This was indicated by the 26th party congress and in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On the Measures on the Increase of State Assistance to Families Which Have Children" [1].

For a number of years now the corresponding questions have been discussed extensively on the pages of scientific publications, and much attention has been devoted to the elaboration and substantiation of practical recommendations on the optimization of the processes occurring in the family. In particular, it is noted that now the task of strengthening the family and developing its social activeness and competence requires the implementation of additional measures, which are called upon to promote the increase of the moral prestige of marriage, motherhood and fatherhood, the decrease of divorces, the improvement of the indicators of the birth rate, as well as the increase of the effectiveness of family training. Among such measures the organization of the preparation of young people for marriage and the performance of parental duties and the creation of a system of public assistance to the family are named first of all [2].

Serious problems in the sphere of marital and family relations are characteristic of Moscow, even to a greater extent than of other large cities of the European part of the USSR and Siberia. Suffice it to say that the level of the divorce rate in

A. F. Severina is publishing a work in our journal for the first time. G. A. Zaikina's articles, translations from English and reviews of new books on sociology have been published in our journal.

the capital exceeds by 1.5-fold the average level for the country (in 1981 respectively 5.3 and 3.5), while the level of the birth rate is two-thirds as great as the average level (respectively 12.9 and 18.5) [3]. The question of the stability of the young family is urgent. According to the data of a study conducted by the Department of Sociology of the Family of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences jointly with the Department for Questions of the Family and Marriage of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee, in Moscow more than 35 percent of the broken families existed less than 3 years.

The need for the optimization of the functioning of the family makes it incumbent to seek means of the solution of the ripe problems. The organization in 1979 of the Department for Questions of the Family and Marriage of the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet, the task of which includes the elaboration, implementation and coordination of practical measures on the strengthening of the family and the provision of assistance to it, was one of the practical steps in this direction. In its activity the department cooperates extensively with the administrations and other departments of the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet, the Moscow City Committee of Komsomol, the Moscow City Council of Trade Unions, the Knowledge Society, as well as with many scientific institutions. In recent years the executive committees of the rayon soviets of people's deputies have devoted much attention to the family and its well-being. In 1980 a public department on questions of the family and marriage, the supervision of which is carried out by one of the deputy chairmen of the executive committee of the rayon soviet, was formed under the auspices of each of them. Representatives of various rayon services (public education, health care, trade and others), as well as party, soviet, Komsomol and trade union workers and scholars--lawyers, sociologists, psychologists--are members of the public departments. The public departments both perform independent work and coordinate the efforts of the services of the executive committee, enterprises and organizations of the rayon on the solution of various problems which affect the interests of the Moscow family. These are the improvement of the living conditions of families having many children and young couples, the provision of children with children's preschool institutions, the development of the trade and personal service of the population, the protection of the health of mother and child and the working conditions of working women. The materials prepared by the public departments enable the executive committees of the rayon soviets to approach specifically the solution of the problems of the family. The prestige of the public departments is increasing from year to year. Thus, in 1982 more than 1,500 people turned here for help and support.

The basic directions of the activity of the Department for Questions of the Family and Marriage of the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet and the public departments of the executive committees of the rayon soviets were specified with allowance made for the recommendations of scientists, particularly the ones advanced by the three applied science conferences which were held in 1978-1979 in Vilnius, Kishinev and Baku. Among these directions the leading ones are the creation of the conditions for the optimum combination of the occupational and family roles of the working woman, the implementation of measures which are conducive to the increase of the number of children, the increase of the educational potential of the family. Moreover, definite work is being performed for the purpose to help single people in forming a family: it is well known that now in large cities the proportion of people of marriageable age, who are not married, is increasing rapidly.

When elaborating specific measures of assistance to the Moscow family the Department for Questions of the Family and Marriage of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee bases itself first of all on the analysis of the demographic situation in each rayon, taking into account the size of the population, the level of the birth rate, the number and size of families, the ratio of different age groups and other indicators. The regulation of marital and family relations presumes a serious scientific approach and the conducting of special studies for the evaluation of the effectiveness of the measures being implemented. Therefore the department cooperates extensively with a number of scientific organizations. For example, an agreement on creative cooperation has been concluded with the Department of Sociology of the Family of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which provides procedural assistance to experienced workers.

Among the measures on the strengthening of the family an important place should belong to the preparation of young people for conjugal life and the performance of parental duties. Since skilled teaching personnel are needed for the performance of work in this area, the methods seminar "Preparation for Family Life" for teachers of secondary schools, as well as rayon seminars for the classroom monitors of the 8th-10th grades have been organized under the auspices of the Moscow City Institute for the Advanced Training of Teachers. Starting with the 1980/1981 school year classes on the theme "The Young Family" were included in the program "Ethics" for the students of vocational and technical schools, while during the 1981/1982 school year the elective "The Ethics and Psychology of Family Life" began to operate at 15 Moscow schools. This year the elective "Preparation for a Family in the USSR" was introduced at the tekhnikums of the system of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee. Here extracurricular work is also of great importance. The "Health" universities, in the syllabuses of which lectures on the hygiene of marriage, personal hygiene, the ethics of the interrelationship of the sexes and other questions are included, have shown themselves to advantage. Lecture bureaus for upper grade students and parents, within the framework of which lectures are given on the ethics of interpersonal relations in the family and adolescent psychology, are in operation in several rayons.

Work with couples, who have submitted an application for the registration of marriage, is one of the stages of the preparation for family life. These are primarily cycles and one-time lectures, lecture bureaus and movie lecture bureaus. As a rule, the lessons include questions of the hygiene of marriage and legislation on marriage and the family. Recently such themes as the psychology of matrimony and the rearing of children also began to be covered. Lecturers of the Knowledge Society and the houses of health education, physicians of maternity advice bureaus and the "Marriage and Family" advice bureaus, lawyers, psychologists and sociologists are taking part in this work. The city club of young couples, "At Nikitskiy Gate," which was organized in 1980 by the departments for questions of the family and marriage and the Civil Registry Office of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee, the Moscow City Committee of Komsomol and the Moscow City Organization of the Knowledge Society, enjoys wide popularity. Now such clubs are in operation in several rayons of the capital. They are created on the basis of movie theaters, houses and palaces of culture and cafes. Another form of educational work with young people--the "Young Family" clubs--has been developed and is being introduced in practice by the department. At present such clubs have been set up in 16 rayons of the city; there are marriage and family advice centers at 11 of them.

The causes of divorces were studied in accordance with the materials of the people's courts with the participation of the Justice Department of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee, the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Law Faculty of Moscow State University. The lack of common views and respect and the dissimilarity of character were in first place (32.1 percent among men and 30.2 percent among women), the drunkenness of one of the spouses was in second place (22.0 percent), frequent quarrels, rows and conflicts were in third place (19.8 percent). These data, as with the results of other sociological studies, attest that causes of a psychological nature and difficulties in the mutual adaptation of couples are the basis for a significant portion of the divorces. In such cases the dissolution of the marriage frequently is not the only and best way out of the situation. Special work with those getting divorced for the purpose of helping people to make the correct decision in a conflict situation is necessary. At present commissions on family law questions have already been set up in all the rayons of the city, and their activity is yielding definite positive results: it is possible to preserve a portion of the families. In 1982 more than 7,500 married couples were reconciled by the organs of the Civil Registry Office and the commissions.

It is obvious that the work, which is aimed at the stabilization of the family, should include an entire set of measures and should be oriented not only toward couples who are getting a divorce, but also toward all families which are experiencing any difficulties. The first "Marriage and Family" advice bureau in the capital, which was set up in 1974 in Sverdlovskiy Rayon, is called upon to accomplish these tasks. Practical experience has confirmed the unquestionable effectiveness of institutions of this sort, and another two advice bureaus have been opened in Pervomayskiy and Leningradskiy Rayons. All the advice bureaus are subordinate to the city Public Health Administration of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee and operate on the basis of hospitals or polyclinics (maternity advice bureaus).

When setting up the first such institution the provision of specialized assistance on the medical aspects of intrafamily birth control and family planning was envisaged as its main task. Later the need to supplement this work with the psychological and sexological advising of couples and measures on the preparation of young people for marriage became obvious. Now among the basis directions of the activity of the "Family and Marriage" advice bureaus it is possible to distinguish the following: medical assistance to people who suffer from diseases which prevent the appearance of children in the family or a normal sex life in marriage (infertility, aggravated heredity, sexual disorders); psychological and sexological education, first of all of young people, the spreading of knowledge about the family; the psychological advising of families in conflict and people getting divorced; legal assistance to the population on family legal problems. The following offices are in operation at all the advice bureaus: female infertility (this office accounts for the greatest share in the total amount of work of the advice bureaus), male infertility, gynecological endocrinology, miscarriage, contraception, medical genetic advising, sexual pathology, a cytogenetic and a clinical laboratory. Starting this year psychologists have been placed on the staffs of the advice bureaus.

For those getting married the "Marriage and Family" advice bureaus jointly with the departments of the Civil Registry Office and for questions of the family and marriage hold series of lectures, which cover the questions of the psychology of interrelations in the family, the hygiene of marriage and its legal bases. The advice

bureau of Pervomayskiy Rayon jointly with staff members of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Center for Questions of Sexual Pathology of the Scientific Research Institute of Psychiatry of the RSFSR Ministry of Health developed an experimental program of the premarital and marital surveying of young couples. The goal of the experiment is to improve the preparation of young people for the performance of family roles, as well as to make a dynamic observation of married couples and to give them assistance in crisis situations. The advice bureaus work in close contact with the public departments for questions of the family and marriage of the executive committees of the rayon soviets of people's deputies, the chiefs of the advice bureaus and specialists are members of the public departments.

Of course, much in the work of the advice bureaus still requires improvement. What is now being done, is in its essence a social experiment, which will help to determine the most suitable structure of the institutions of this sort, the leading directions of their activity and the forms of work. In the future it is planned to organize a citywide advice bureau for questions of the family and marriage on the principle of self-sufficiency. It is proposed to enlist for work at them highly skilled specialists in the area of the sociology and psychology of the family, medicine, pedagogy and family law. The advice bureau will receive citizens for individual or group advising on questions of marital and family relations, which are of interest to them. Undoubtedly, this is one of the most promising directions of the activity on the strengthening of the family and, perhaps, the only possible form of assistance to couples in a conflict situation, as well as to divorced people during the difficult period when they are forced to get used to their new status.

Among the questions connected with the functioning of the modern family, especially in a large city, the small family is, beyond a doubt, one of the most important. The demographic situation, which has formed in Moscow and of which the predominance of single-child and two-child families and a relatively high proportion of people of marriageable age, who have not created their own family, are characteristic, is giving rise to a set of complicated socioeconomic problems. In conformity with the point of view, which has become firmly established in Soviet scientific literature, the accomplishment of the task of increasing the birth rate presumes the change of the system of values, which has been formed in the mass consciousness, so that the family and children would hold in it one of the leading places. An important role here should belong to the means of mass information and propaganda.

The alleviation of the situation of the working woman presumes, in particular, the improvement of the sphere of service so that household activity would take up less time. The Department for Questions of the Family and Marriage jointly with the Main Administration of Trade and the Consumer Services Administration of the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet has drawn up a plan of measures on the accomplishment of this task: the broadening of the system of advance orders for foodstuffs and industrial goods for families having many children and the establishment of new specialized stores and personal service institutions are envisaged. For example, the specialized store "Goods for Future Mothers," which serves Moscow women in accordance with the orders of maternity advice bureaus, was opened in early 1982.

For the purposes of regulating and increasing the standards of the service of families having many children in July 1982 the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet adopted a decision, by which it obliged the executive committees of the

rayon soviets to identify and register the families having many children (having three and more children up to the age of 16), to attach them for service to nearby food and industrial goods stores and to provide them with goods of everyday demand. So far 70 percent of these families have been attached for service to the Order Desks and stores of the "Children's World" trade firm. They have the right to the out-of-turn installation of a telephone and to out-of-turn service at personal service enterprises. For this purpose a special "Certificate of the Family Having Many Children" is issued to parents who have three and more underage children. As a rule, living space is also granted to families having many children in the micro-rayons with a developed network of personal, trade and municipal services. In Moscow the families, in which twins are born, enjoy a great advantage. Apartments are granted to them within a year from the date of registration.

Labor collectives are also being enlisted in the work on providing assistance to young families, families having many children and working mothers. For example, with the participation of the Public Department for Questions of the Family and Marriage of the Executive Committee of the Pervomayskiy Rayon Soviet sociological studies devoted to the problems of the labor of women were conducted at 35 industrial enterprises. Their results were the basis for that section of the plan of the social development of the rayon, which concerns the improvement of the conditions of the labor, daily life and relaxation of working women. Commissions for questions of the family and marriage have been set up at many large enterprises. The analysis of the composition of families of working people; the monitoring of the provision of advantages to parents having three and more children in case of the granting of leaves to them and the distribution of public consumption funds; the broadening of the types of personal services for working women at the enterprise; the creation for mothers of young children of conditions which make it possible to work a partial work week or a partial workday; the implementation of measures which are aimed at the increase of the prestige of the family are included in their task.

A few words should be said about the work on providing assistance to single people in creating a family. In Moscow "For Those Over 30" clubs, of which unmarried men and women were members, began to spring up in 1977. Now there are 17 such clubs in the city, and they unite more than 10,000 people. A model statute and a model charter of the club, which regulate its activity, have been elaborated by the Department for Questions of the Family and Marriage of the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet and the Department of Mass Cultural Work of the Moscow City Council of Trade Unions. According to the charter the tasks of the club include the promotion of the broadening of the social contacts of its members and thus the increase of the likelihood of meeting a future spouse, the performance of educational lecture work and the acquaintance of the audience with the sociopsychological, legal, moral, medical and other aspects of family and marital relations.

The majority of members of the clubs are people of middle ages: those who are from 30 to 50 years old make up 70 percent. People with a high level of education predominate: 65 percent have a higher and incomplete higher education, 30 percent have a secondary specialized education and only 5 percent have a secondary and incomplete secondary education. The overwhelming majority have been married (30 percent are widowed, 50 percent are divorced). More than 70 percent of them have children. The basic goals, which those who have joined the club pursue, are: to find a spouse--60 percent, to broaden the sphere of contact, to acquire new friends--40 percent.

The department is working on suggestions on the use of other nontraditional forms of assisting single Muscovites in creating a family. In 1981 the public opinion of the working people of Moscow on this question was studied. A survey was conducted at five enterprises of the city: the Electromechanical Plant imeni Vladimir Il'ich, the Trekhgornaya manufaktura Cotton Combine, the Second Moscow Timepiece Plant, the "Children's World" trade firm and the USSR State Public Scientific and Technical Library. The categories of those being surveyed was selected so that their opinion would reflect both the aims of the people needing the assistance of the "Acquaintance Service" and of those who are already married. Among the respondents unmarried people made up 52.6 percent (of them 24.9 percent are bachelors and unmarried women and 27.7 percent are divorced and widowed people), married people made up 47.4 percent. Of those surveyed 71 percent supported the organization of the "Acquaintance Service," 54 percent supported the idea of the publication of wedding announcements in the city newspapers.

Thus, it is necessary to develop the "Acquaintance Service." The fact that such clubs frequently arose spontaneously, testifies to the need which has formed among certain strata of the population. The question is for the assistance to single people in creating a family to be carried out in the future on a scientific basis, with the participation of skilled specialists.

Now the inadequate elaboration of some theoretical questions is hindering the practical activity on the optimization of the processes which are occurring in the sphere of family and marital relations. In our opinion, the attention of planning organs, sociologists, economists and demographers should be aimed at the study of the family as an object of social planning and regulation. In this connection it seems necessary to broaden and make more specific the scientific studies on the problems of the family and to increase their practical effectiveness. Perhaps, an all-union state organ, the task of which would include the coordination of all the activity concerning the family and the optimization of demographic processes, including the research work in this area, should be created.

The enlargement of the group of indicators, with respect to which statistical organs gather information of a demographic nature, would promote the increase of the effectiveness of scientific research and the soundness of social planning. In particular, for the regulation of the processes occurring in the family it is important to have statistical data on the number of remarriages and divorces; the length of time between the dissolution of the marriage and remarriage; the birth rate in the first and subsequent marriages; the sociodemographic characteristics of those getting divorced and single people.

Of course, the practice of assisting the family on the part of society should also be developed. What has been done at present by the services of the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet is so far only the beginning. This work requires further improvement, and we can already now distinguish its basic directions. First of all the moral education of young people should be intensified, having combined it with esthetic education, which will contribute to the formation of proper views on the family and the relations between the sexes. The preparation of young people for marriage should be started in school and should become mandatory. It is also necessary to elaborate more effective measures of influence on the parents, who evade the rearing of children and lead an immoral way of life, particularly, to intensify the campaign against alcoholism as the original cause of the birth of

mentally disturbed children and to isolate alcoholic parents from the family. Among the measures, which are aimed at the stabilization of the family and the decrease of the level of divorces, let us note first of all the creation of an extensive network of advice centers, to which it would be possible to turn for advice on psychological, medical, legal and other questions. The dissemination of the practice of issuing loans to young couples for the building of housing and the starting of a household and economic assistance to the student family would also contribute to the decrease of the number of divorces in young families. The sphere of trade and personal service, on which the amount of time which is left for parents for the meeting of spiritual needs and the raising of children first of all depends, requires systematic improvement. It is also necessary, in conformity with the instructions of the 26th CPSU Congress, to broaden persistently the opportunities granted to women to work a partial work week or workday. And, perhaps, the most important thing is to implement the enumerated measures in combination, backing them with active propaganda work. Only then is it possible to expect appreciable results, the improvement of the demographic situation, the strengthening of the family and the increase of its educational potential.

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DEBATES AND DISCUSSIONS

COST ACCOUNTING, PRICING IN DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO LABOR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 83 (signed to press 20 Jul 83) pp 92-99

[Article by Candidate of Technical Sciences Oleg Ivanovich Novikov, prorektor of Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov: "Distribution According to Labor: Cost Accounting and Pricing"]

[Text] The rate of development of socialist society depends on many factors. Among them the personal interest of each worker in the results of social production and his own labor is of paramount importance. The latter is achieved by measures of material stimulation, first of all by distribution according to labor.

The 26th CPSU Congress indicated the need "to continue the improvement of the system of material stimulation with allowance made for the specific contribution of each labor collective and individual worker to the achieved results" [4]. Yu. V. Andropov has spoken about the further improvement of the formed system of material and moral stimulation [5, p 16]. In this connection the discussion of the problem of distribution according to labor, which the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA began, having published for discussion purposes the article of V. M. Yakushev [6], seems timely.

The essence of the proposal of V. M. Yakushev is to organize the system of distribution according to labor on the basis of the gains made by the workers and collectives in the process of socialist competition. In itself such a suggestion merits attention, but for the present raises considerably more questions than it settles. How is one to find criteria which ensure the objective evaluation of the results of the labor of the competing workers and collectives? How does one combine such a system of stimulation with planning? How, finally, is this suggestion to be realized in practice? The author does not give an answer to these and other questions. Moreover, he cites a number of arguments which actually refute his point of view. Thus, in the article there are references to the experience of the practical use of the suggestions advanced by him and to the social experiment under the provisional title "Pul'sar" at the Elektron Association (Lvov, 1971-1973). Experience actually exists, but it is primarily negative [7].

O. I. Novikov is a specialist in the area of construction economics. He is publishing a work in our journal for the first time.

Individual examples, for which premises, which do not take into account the existing practice of management, are the basis, are cited instead of clear criteria of the competitive principle. Here is one of them: "Let us assume that 10 machine tool operators, who are under equal conditions and produce identical parts, work in a production section. A wage fund of 2,000 rubles has been allocated to the section. This money must be distributed in accordance with the results of the work for the month so that all the machine tool operators would strive to work with the maximum effort" [6, p 75].

An observation immediately arises. The wage fund is allocated not in general, but for the production of a specific number of parts. If more parts are produced, the wage fund will be adjusted proportionately upward for the section, and accordingly the plant for the above-plan output. In this case some reducing coefficient, which takes into account the relative stability of the overhead in case of an increased output of items, will be used. This is profitable for not only the enterprise, but also the state, since the national economy needs the additional output which is being produced. The additional wage, which is paid in this case, will be saved, let us assume, due to the fact that the need to create new capacities disappears. But if there are not adjustments of the wage fund (changes in the direction of its decrease are also possible), why would any of the 10 machine tool operators work intensely--for it is possible to divide the money as it is.

But let us return to the example. "First of all it is necessary to provide people with a certain subsistence wage, let us suppose 100 rubles. Let us pay this money to each of the 10 machine tool operators on the condition of the fulfillment of the standard, which is within the power of any conscientious worker. Consequently, 1,000 rubles will be paid in the form of the guaranteed minimum and another 1,000 rubles will remain. This money is also distributed on the basis of the competitive principle. It is possible to do this by two means.

"The first means is the competitive means proper. Let us set the following condition: the worker who produced the most parts of all (it is not important exactly how many) receives in addition to the guaranteed minimum a bonus, let us suppose 300 rubles. The one who took second place receives 200 rubles, third place--150 rubles, fourth place--100 rubles and so on. The one who took last place is content with the guaranteed minimum. In case of such a procedure of distribution it is known beforehand, what bonus the worker, who took one place or another, will receive, but it is unknown, who will take what place and what labor productivity will be required. This becomes clear in the course of the labor competition....

"The competitive means of distribution proper places the workers under the conditions of competition with each other and thereby obviously eliminates leveling in the payment for labor. Its strong point lies in this. Its drawback lies in the fact that the difference in wages might not correspond to the differences in productivity. Thus, for example, the worker who took first place might make 300 parts, while the one who took second place might make 299. The difference in the output is small, but in the wage is substantial: the former received 400 rubles, while the latter receives only 300 rubles" [6, p 76].

In our opinion, the basic drawback of the proposed means lies in something else: all 10 machine tool operators will cease to work intensely. At first they will compete, will ascertain who is worth what and will leave it at that, no matter into how many parts the bonus fund is broken down.

Further. "The second means is distribution according to labor participation. Its essence consists in the following. Let us divide the bonus fund (1,000 rubles) by the total number of produced parts and establish the value of one part. Then let us distribute the fund among the 10 workers in proportion to the number of parts produced by each of them.

"The competitive principle is also the basis for this means of distribution, since the worker, by producing more parts, increases his wage, at the same time he decreases the wage of the others, since the value of each part in this case decreases.

"The merit of the means is that the wage of each person is directly proportionate to his labor productivity. The drawback lies in the possible strain of the sociopsychological relations at the level of the primary labor collectives like the brigade, since the laggards are interested in the better people decreasing their productivity and in the bonus fund being divided equally" [6, p 76].

Let us make an elaboration. Since the wage fund of the sections is adjusted subject to the quantity of output and since the production of each item consumes a specific amount of labor, today's practice of management ensures a formally equal wage for each produced part. And the worker, who produces a greater number of parts, cannot decrease the wage for another and, consequently, no sociopsychological strain arises.

It is also impossible to agree that the competitive principle of distribution operates in the cost accounting brigades which work on a single order, since distribution is carried out in them by means of the coefficient of labor participation, and the main cause of the effectiveness of the brigade contract lies in this. Even not so much the exaggeration of the role, which is assigned to the coefficient of labor participation (although from my own experience I know that the coefficient of labor participation in case of the proper grouping according to wage rates for each member of the brigade is quite rapidly reduced to one) as the misinterpretation of the "secret" of the brigade forms of the organization of labor raises objection.

Cost accounting is the basis of the brigade form of the organization of labor. Its essence consists in the fact that the physical volume of work, which is to be performed by the brigade, is clearly specified, the necessary objects and means of labor are allocated, the amount of the wage, which will be paid upon completion of the work with allowance made for the preservation and saving of material resources, is established. All this is recorded in the contract, which has been countersigned and has the force of a legal document.

It is impossible to explain the increase of the effectiveness of the brigade forms of cost accounting by the fact that "within the brigade the departure from hired distributive relations has occurred and the socialist principle of distribution has become firmly established" [6, p 77]. The fact that some brigades, which have been changed over to the new form of cost accounting, exist formally, while the growth rate of the total number of cost accounting brigades has declined somewhat, also attracts attention.

There are two reasons here. First, the brigade form is effective only in case of the timely supply of material resources and everything that is necessary. Since

for the present it is not always possible to accomplish this, in most instances incomplete cost accounting brigades are created, for the performance of specific types of work, and do not bear responsibility for the output of a specific product (if we speak about construction, in which much experience in the use of the brigade contract has been gained, then for the construction project as a whole). Second, the workers see that the wage in case of the brigade contract at times is not much greater.

V. M. Yakushev opposes the formation of the wage of the brigade according to the principle of collective piece work and proposes to credit it according to the competitive principle of distribution. Perhaps, this is also advisable. But no matter what principle we use, all the same it is necessary to formulate the criteria in accordance with which the distribution is carried out, but for this it is necessary to compare the technical level of the products being produced by different enterprises. And then the turning to cost accounting, which is inconceivable without commodity-money relations, is inevitable.

Certain negative phenomena are being observed in the economic system of the national economy. Yu. V. Andropov spoke frankly about this at the meeting with Moscow machine tool builders on 31 January 1983. In our opinion, the fact that not all the indicators of the current five-year plan are being fulfilled, is a consequence of some flaws in the very preparation of the five-year plan and of the inadequate perfection of the existing economic mechanism and the forms of cost accounting. There are many cases of the poor quality elaboration of the draft of the five-year plan directly at enterprises; a number of shortcomings are connected with the activity of central organs, which are called upon to ensure the balance and coordination of the suggestions on the draft of the plan and the reporting of the basic indicators of the state plan to local organizations. The basis principle of the current five-year plan is: stable prices for products and stable deductions for the material stimulation fund. However, the determination and approval of the prices themselves were dragged out unjustifiably (for example, the regulated estimate prices in construction will be introduced as of 1 January 1984).

At times obvious contradictions are noticed in the economic mechanism. Some enterprises try sometimes to refuse to produce products which are unprofitable for them, which gives rise to a shortage of individual goods. The economic stimulation funds and the wage in different sectors of the national economy increase at times not in proportion to the changes of the socially necessary expenditures of labor. Pricing--the basis of cost accounting--has not been debugged. The wholesale (and other) prices do not always ensure the covering of the costs of production and the derivation of a specific profit. The interests of the enterprises and the state at times differ, since the existing form of cost accounting creates an interest of the enterprise in the increase of prices. The effect of the mechanism, in case of which the enterprises should strive for an increase of the production and sale of products, that is, for the adoption of a more intensive plan, fails.

At times the economic manager fights for the prices for products to be a bit higher, for a little more resources to be allocated, while the plan would be set a bit lower. The end result does not interest everyone. The enterprise receives a guaranteed wage fund, and if necessary over and above it. How the wage being spent is coordinated with the final product, is of little concern to some managers.

For the resolution of the contradictions existing in the economic mechanism it is necessary to improve radically the form of cost accounting and pricing.

K. Marx, in predicting the paths of the building of the new society, wrote: "...upon the abolition of the capitalist mode of production, but with the preservation of social production the determination of the value remains dominant in the sense that the regulation of working time and the distribution of national labor among different groups of production, finally, the accounting, which encompasses all this, become more important than ever" [1].

And this is natural. For the determination of the social value of some product is nothing other than the determination of the socially necessary amount of working time, which is necessary for the production of a specific product, or, as it is usual to say, the socially necessary expenditures of labor.

The socialist economy strives to bring prices as close as possible to the socially necessary expenditures of labor. Back at the 24th CPSU Congress it was noted: "The correct system of pricing should increase the interest of enterprises and associations in the updating of products, the improvement of their quality, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress" [3].

Thus, there are cost accounting and pricing.

It is well known that the socially necessary expenditures are the basis for the price. At the same time the price also performs a stimulating role. The deviation of the price from the socially necessary expenditures of labor should be minimal. The price is formed on the basis of the costing which is elaborated by the enterprise itself. Even the improvement of this process by the introduction of sectorial standards of expenditures, which are drawn up in accordance with the average sectorial production cost, does not solve the problem. For the products of individual sectors are incomparable with each other from the point of view of the socially necessary expenditures of labor. The "expenditure" concept of pricing creates the tendency for wholesale prices to increase, including when the calculation is made in accordance with the net output and its derivatives. The overstatement of prices is profitable to enterprises, since in this case their indicators of the sale of products, the output, the wage fund and the profit increase. Since pricing is the basis of cost accounting, its principles should be interpreted in a slightly different manner. Today cost accounting "acts as a method of the running of the economy and management, the essence of which consists in the fact that every enterprise compares in monetary form the expenditures on production and the results of its economic operations, covers its costs by the monetary revenues from the sale of products and ensures the profitability of production" [8].

Are not the bases of planning from what has been achieved and leveling in the payment for labor incorporated here? For the costs are offset from the revenues in isolation of the socially necessary expenditures of labor. Since the enterprise does not bear proportionate (corresponding to the socially necessary expenditures of labor) economic responsibility for the results of its activity, the individual members of the collective are stimulated not in proportion to the invested labor. Such an item of expenditures as the wage can serve as a vivid illustration. In case of the excessive expenditure of the wage fund the enterprise, which permitted its excessive payment, turns to the superior organization. Then the bank under the

so-called guarantees of the superior ministry or department issues the required amounts in cash. The next year, as a rule, the lacking wage fund will be allocated to the enterprise in addition to the wage fund which is usually planned.¹ Not for no purpose do some economic managers reason as follows: it is better to indicate once in the report an overexpenditure--and for several year a calmer life is ensured. For there is taken as the basis of the planning of the wage fund during the new year the actual level of its expenditures during the preceding year.

The prevailing mechanism of cost accounting, by freeing the production collective of responsibility, shifts it to the shoulders of the state, which leads to excessive centralization. Self-regulation of the economic system is reduced to a minimum. In our opinion, the growth of the administrative and management machinery and the cases of inertness in the management of the national economy are explained by this.

In the well-known work "On the Cooperative" V. I. Lenin wrote: "As a matter of fact, to form the Russian population extensively and thoroughly enough into cooperatives in case of the domination of NEP is everything that we need, because we have now found that degree of the combination of private interest, private trade interest, the checking and monitoring of it by the state, the degree of its subordination to the common interests, which previously constituted the stumbling block for many, many socialists" [2]. Let us recall in this connection the statement of Yu. V. Andropov: "...It is one thing to perceive the idea of the historical necessity of socialism in its theoretical form, and a completely different thing to also be a participant in and witness of the process of the embodiment of this idea" [5, p 11].

In our opinion, the cost accounting rights of enterprises should be broadened significantly, so that the collectives could use more completely the results of their production operations, would bear full responsibility for the end result and would not shift it, as is done at times, to the shoulders of the state. Then the collective and personal material interest of each collective on the basis of the socially necessary expenditures of labor and the optimum combination of centralized planning and commodity-money relations will be ensured.

How is this to be accomplished? It is necessary to bring the price as close as possible to the socially necessary expenditures of labor. For this with respect to each type of product the average production cost of a specific item for the country as a whole should be determined (let us assume on the basis of the analysis of the quarterly or annual reports). The price should be set at the level of the average production cost (costs of production) plus the planned profit with allowance made for the meeting of the public demand of socialist reproduction. The profit of the enterprise and the deductions for the economic stimulation funds will be formed on the basis of the established price and the quantity of produced output. The differential income should also be taken into account. For this purpose it is necessary to calculate and record the differential profit (loss), which appears as a result of unequal natural (intrinsic) and technical conditions of production, at the movement of the changeover to the proposed type of cost accounting in order

1. For example, 80 percent of the excessive expenditure of the wage fund, which was permitted in construction in 1982, was not reimbursed to the state.

then to subtract annually from the derived profit the differential income for the determination of the actual profit. From the latter the turnover taxes should be collected and the deductions for the economic stimulation and production development funds should be made. The level of the deductions is specified by the central organ.

Let us examine this process in more detail. The value, which is created by the enterprise (S), is expressed by the sum of the monetary assets which are obtained from the sale of the produced output (N) at the set price (p):

$$S = Np. \quad (1)$$

The price of an item is set subject to the socially necessary expenditures of labor, which should be defined as the costs of production $(c+v)_{cp}$ (the average production cost) with allowance made for the planned standard of the profit $(m_{\Pi\Pi})$:

$$p = (c+v)_{cp} + m_{\Pi\Pi}. \quad (2)$$

It is possible to express in another way the value created by the enterprise as:

$$S = N[(c+v)_{cp} + m_{\Pi\Pi}]. \quad (3)$$

The average production cost of an item $(c+v)_{cp}$, in addition to the mean productive production cost $(c+v)_{np}$, includes the mean nonproduction losses of working time per unit of the item (Π_{cp}) :

$$(c+v)_{cp} = (c+v)_{np} + \Pi_{cp}. \quad (4)$$

Let us analyze the work of two enterprises (I and II), which produce products with a production cost of $(c+v)_I$ and $(c+v)_{II}$, in the composition of which in one case the nonproduction losses (Π_I) are less, while in the other (Π_{II}) are more than the average level of losses, which has formed at the given moment (Π_{cp}) :

$$\begin{aligned} I(c+v)_I &= (c+v)_{np}^I + \Pi_I, \text{ where } \Pi_I < \Pi_{cp}, \\ II(c+v)_{II} &= (c+v)_{np}^{II} + \Pi_{II}, \text{ where } \Pi_{II} > \Pi_{cp}. \end{aligned} \quad (5)$$

The labor collectives will receive in case of the production of each item a different profit (loss) m_I , $(-m_{II})$, subject to the invested amount and quality of labor:

$$\begin{aligned} \Pi_{cp} - \Pi_I &= m_I, \\ \Pi_{cp} - \Pi_{II} &= -m_{II}. \end{aligned} \quad (6)$$

Under these conditions the aspiration of the enterprise to decrease the losses will be stable, since the latter also promises an economic impact in the future.

Let us examine the second component of the production cost of a unit of the item at enterprises I and II (formula 5)--the actual productive production cost in the form which has been clear of the losses $(c+v)_{np}^I$ and $(c+v)_{np}^{II}$.

Both collectives will have an equal actual productive production cost $(c+v)_{np}^I = (c+v)_{np}^{II}$ in case of similar natural conditions, an identical quality and quantity of means of production. The economic impact, which is due to the difference of the objects of labor, should be assigned to the change of the losses Π_I and Π_{II} and be regarded as a factor which depends on the results of the work of the collective.

Let us take for an example two enterprises (I and II), which are equipped with means of labor, which are different in technical level, or operate under different natural conditions. In practice two identical enterprises do not exist, therefore in one case the actual productive production cost of an item in the form cleared of the losses $(c+v)_{np}^I$ will be less than the formed average level of the productive production cost $(c+v)_{np}$, while in the other $(c+v)_{np}^{II}$ it will be greater:

$$\begin{aligned} I(c+v)_{np}^I &< (c+v)_{np}, \\ II(c+v)_{np}^{II} &> (c+v)_{np}. \end{aligned} \quad (7)$$

As a result, the differential income (loss) is formed, which should initially be withdrawn (compensated) by the amount:

$$\begin{aligned} I(c+v)_{np} - (c+v)_{np}^I &= m_{np}^I, \\ II(c+v)_{np} - (c+v)_{np}^{II} &= -m_{np}^{II}. \end{aligned} \quad (8)$$

Thus, initially the annual amount of the withdrawals and compensations for the state will be equal to zero.

So that the collectives would strive to equip production with the latest means of labor, the withdrawals and compensations of the differential income should be made annually at a stable (the initial) level with allowance made for the change of the price indices. The obtained additional differential income from the increase of the quantity of the output being produced should be divided between the enterprises and the state in a ratio which guarantees the interest of the collectives in the increase of production and the introduction of new equipment. All this is in the case when the means of production have been turned over to the enterprise free of charge. When the development of fixed capital is carried out on the initiative and at the expense of the collective, the results should belong to it in the form of the obtaining of an increased percent of the profit and the deductions for the economic stimulation funds.

The consumer, by taking into account the need for the precise observance of the delivery dates and the cost of the transportation expenses, will strive to conclude contracts for delivery with neighboring producers, permitting in this case an increase of the payment above the price which was set on the basis of the socially necessary expenditures of labor, which in the end will lead to the optimization of transportation. Of course, on the condition that the technical level of the products of suppliers is approximately equal.

Such a system will find application not only in industry, but also in transportation, construction and so on.

As for construction, here the price of the product on the basis of the socially necessary expenditures of labor will be equal to the actual all-union average estimate cost, which is determined per square meter of area of residential buildings or cubic meter of volume of projects for other purposes differentially, with allowance made for their category plus the planned profit. The increased demand for construction products will increase the price and will place it above the price which is equal to the socially necessary expenditures of labor, enabling the construction workers to obtain an increased profit and wage. The use of a sliding price will promote the increase of the effectiveness of capital investments and the introduction of more advanced design decisions.

The imperative of such cost accounting presumes the regulation of physical production by means of structural changes, since it is unprofitable to society to maintain enterprises which produce products with the greatest production cost. In this case the price (formula 2) should reflect the durability and other consumer properties of the item.

The central organ when meeting the differential loss will begin to analyze the advisability of such a step and, other conditions being equal, will assign the output of the products to a more developed enterprise. For the enterprises themselves will strive for a stepped-up plan, since the production of products at a low production cost with a better quality will become most important. As a result the practice of planning "from what has been achieved" will disappear.

A new approach to the planning of all indicators is necessary. The wage fund and price for items are not stable for a long period, but sliding, subject to the socially necessary expenditures of labor. For production processes are constantly changing and are continuously being improved. By having a price which is based on the socially necessary expenditures, planning will rely on this factor, and not on the achieved indicators. Since the difference obtained in the case of the sale of products between the actual production cost and the set price is left at the disposal of the collective and supplements the economic stimulation funds, every collective will strive for the maximum decrease of the production expenses and the increase of the production volume.

Moreover, here the system of accounting and planning will be simplified, no one will have to be called upon to introduce new equipment, to fight against thefts of socialist property, against bureaucracy and for the reduction of the administrative and managerial staff, to save various resources and to decrease manual labor, it will not be necessary to see to it that the calculation of scientifically sound output norms and shift coefficients of equipment would be carried out in good time--this will become a need of every member of the collective.

The proposed approach will make it possible to fully realize distribution according to labor. Its practical significance can be established in case of an economic experiment. For this it is necessary to determine the all-union average production cost of products of this type in industry, construction and other sectors of the national economy, then to select a number of organizations which produce such products in accordance with the production cost, which coincides with or is close to the average production cost.

Apparently, there can also be other methods of calculating the socially necessary expenditures of labor of the output being produced and other measures of increasing

the mutual responsibility of the producing enterprises. The solutions of the problem of distribution according to labor may be different, but there is only one means of them--the increase of the independence and responsibility of all labor collectives.

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BRIGADE LABOR ORGANIZATION IN DNEPROPETROVSK OBLAST

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[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Pavel Grigor'yevich Klivets, docent of Dnepropetrovsk State University: "The Conditions of the Introduction of Brigade Methods of Work (According to the Materials of a Study in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast)"]

[Text] Today the brigade forms of the organization of labor have received extensive use and dissemination. Thus, in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast by early 1983 more than 40,000 brigades existed, a third of all the workers worked in them; by the end of the current five-year plan it is proposed to change over two-thirds of the workers of the oblast to the new method. However, the introduction of the brigade organization of labor is not always accompanied by the corresponding economic reform. For example, only 75 percent of the collectives are working on a single order. The wage is being distributed according to the coefficient of labor participation in less than half of the brigades. Cost accounting has been adopted in only 1 collective in 12. Meanwhile the experience of the Kaluga Turbine Plant and other enterprises of the country shows: the efficient activity of brigades of the new type is inconceivable under the former socioeconomic conditions.

A special study was conducted by us for the purpose of identifying the best means of implementing the principles of the brigade organization of work.¹ Its basic tasks were: the analysis of the awareness and the attitude of those surveyed toward the brigade organization of labor, as well as the opinions of the working people on the interrelations in the collective and the state of labor discipline.

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1. The study was conducted in 1981 by staff members of the Chair of the Economic System of the National Economy of Dnepropetrovsk State University under the supervision of the author. The 8 largest enterprises of the oblast were studied, more than 2,000 people, including 1,210 workers and 515 engineering and technical personnel and line managers, were surveyed. An expert survey of the chiefs of the shops and departments of a number of enterprises was conducted according to the Delphi method. Plant documents and the data of the studies of plant sociologists and economists were also used.

P. G. Klivets is a specialist in the problems of economics and the organization of labor. He is publishing a work in our journal for the first time.

The study has a number of procedural peculiarities. For ascertaining the knowledgeability about the essence of the brigade methods a set of nine measures, which should ensure the effectiveness of the new form of the organization of labor, was offered to the respondents. The following condition was introduced in the list as the control condition: the certification and the awarding of categories by the members of the brigade (such a method has been deemed inadvisable by specialists and the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, but in practice it is still being used here and there).

When filling out the questionnaire those surveyed marked several measures, then ranked them. On the basis of the obtained data the weighted average rank was calculated and a ranked series of attributes was compiled. But, as is evident from Table 1, the line items of both scales do not coincide. The Spearman rank correlation coefficient between the attributes [1] came to only 0.29. By what is one to explain such a discrepancy? In our opinion, the percentage of those who marked a measure (attribute) attests rather to its "popularity" than to its importance. Such data first of all reflect the stereotypes, which have formed under the influence of the mass media, with regard to various aspects of the production situation. Let us note in passing: if it is a question of a new phenomenon (in this case the brigade method), the opinion supported by the majority of those surveyed is not always correct. The fact that half of those surveyed "got caught" in the control question, that is, supported the awarding to a worker of a category by the members of the brigade, for example, attests to this. Meanwhile it is obvious: such a measure runs counter to wage system.

Table 1

Evaluation by Engineering and Technical Personnel and Line Managers of Measures Which Are Connected With the Changeover to Brigade Methods of the Organization of Labor

Measures	Proportion of those who marked measure	Weighted average rank	Importance of measure	Adjusted rank
Creation of councils of brigades.	0.61	1.94	0.31	1
Transfer to workers of function of selecting brigade leader.	0.48	2.16	0.22	2
Crediting of wages in conformity with recommendations of council of the brigade	0.40	4.2	0.09	7
Orientation of planning toward end result	0.12	2.2	0.05	9
Organization of workplace for brigade	0.04	2.44	0.20	4
Creation of councils of brigade leaders	0.20	2.58	0.08	8
Attachment to brigade of production areas and equipment.	0.53	2.36	0.22	3

[Table continued on following page]

Measures	Proportion of those who marked measure	Weighted average rank	Importance of measure	Adjusted rank
Observance of principle of voluntariness when forming brigades.	0.38	1.95	0.19	5
Certification and awarding to worker of a category by members of brigade.	0.50	2.8	0.18	6

The ranking of the factors by the respondents usually makes it possible to determine the importance of the attribute. However, owing to the peculiarities of the method, on the one hand, and the audience of those being surveyed, on the other, urgent measures frequently get into the category of "secondary" measures. Thus, the indispensable condition of the organization of a brigade--"the attachment to the brigade of areas and equipment"--according to the percentage of those who marked it occupies second place, while according to the average rank occupies only fifth place. In order to link both breakdowns according to each attribute (measure), the proportion of the respondents who marked it is divided by the corresponding rank. The importance of each measure was calculated in this way, on the basis of which the adjusted ranks were determined.

According to the data of the study, those surveyed regard as the most important factors: the creation of councils of brigades, the selection of the brigade leaders by the workers (see Table 1), that is, organizational items. At the same time the reorganization of planning, which is a key condition of the changeover to a single order, occupied last place. It is possible, thus, to draw the conclusion: a significant portion of those surveyed have a poor idea of the essence of the brigade form of the organization of labor.

Table 1 gives grounds for the conclusion that those surveyed regard the extension of the rights of the collective as an indispensable condition of the creation of brigades. However, the most important principles of brigade democracy--the voluntariness of the joining of a brigade, the crediting of the wage not by the foreman, but in accordance with the minutes of the meeting of the council--end up in the lower part of the scale. By what is this explained?

To a certain extent Table 2 provides the answer to this question. As we see, none of the listed functions was named by the majority of respondents as the basic function for brigade leaders. Many of those surveyed "deprived" them even of several immediate duties: to distribute the work and the bonus funds, to draw up the orders for wages. The causes of the formed situation will be clear, if we take into account the following circumstance: foremen and senior foremen made up two-thirds of the respondents. And here is what is noteworthy: precisely the basic line managers especially complain of a great load and the lack of time, but at the same time do not risk turning over a portion of their duties to the brigade, being afraid, probably, of losing power. But without the provision of the brigade with extensive independence the functioning of the brigade as a new type of organization, in our opinion, is inconceivable.

Table 2

Opinion of Engineering and Technical Personnel and Line Managers on the
Breakdown of Management Functions Under the Conditions of Brigade Forms
of the Organization of Labor, Percent of Respondents

Management functions	Subject of management		
	brigade leader	foreman	administration
Planning of work assignment.	13.4	41.1	45.5
Compiling of orders for wages.	30.9	62.2	6.9
Daily distribution of operations	46.5	51.0	2.5
Supply of workers with tools	27.5	39.3	33.2
Supply of workers with raw materials, parts.	10.6	35.9	53.5
Performance of retooling, modernization. .	7.7	17.3	75.0
Introduction of new technology	15.1	30.4	54.5
Distribution of bonus funds.	32.1	46.7	21.2
Organization of production, introduction of scientific organization of labor. . . .	13.0	33.8	53.2
Training of members of collective.	31.7	50.0	18.3
Planning and norm setting.	9.3	33.0	57.7
Promotion of economic knowledge in the collective	12.6	35.0	52.4

The managers of shops take a more flexible position. According to the data of the expert survey, 80 percent of the participants came out in favor of the idea that the brigade would distribute the wage independently by means of the coefficient of labor participation. Half of the respondents consider it necessary to give the brigade the right of material and moral stimulation, to hire workers and to exclude them from the brigade. One shop manager in three supported the opinion that the collective should establish the schedule of vacations and distribute travel authorizations, one in four--should independently distribute the work in the brigade. Some of those surveyed emphasized: the transfer to the brigade of a number of additional rights should be accompanied by the stepping up of educational work and the monitoring of the activity of the councils of brigades and brigade leaders.

Examples of the violations of the principles of the brigade organization of labor were cited during the discussion of such suggestions. The formal approach to the prevailing standards of enterprises and the poor organization of the recording to the performed work are the most widespread cause of violations. In the opinion of one deputy shop chief, "the brigades and the councils of brigades reluctantly use the coefficient of labor participation when evaluating the activity of the members of brigades and try not to upset the established relations in the brigades." His colleague explains this by the fact that "there are no adequate objective conditions, which would stimulate the increased demandingness of the manager on the members of the brigade." The instances when the workers independently keep a record of the output, and at the end of the month "fit" the coefficient of labor participation to the actual wage, are frequent.

Let us note in passing: at several enterprises the used system of the determination of the coefficient of labor participation itself promoted violations. It is a question of so-called average monthly coefficients. In case of a serious offense

(a major flaw, unauthorized absence from work) they can decrease the coefficient of labor participation for a worker during one of the days to 0.5 and even to 0. By working normally the other days, he will receive ones daily. At the end of the month the coefficient will be decreased by only 0.02-0.03. In short, even after committing a serious violation, the worker will not suffer materially. It is understandable that given such a system the daily recording and determination of the coefficient of labor participation lose all meaning.

The deliberate disregard of some principles or others of the new method and, in particular, the interference of the shop managers in the distribution of the brigade wage do especially great harm to brigade organization. The workers of one of the brigades demanded its dissolution, since the shop chief regularly revised the coefficient of labor participation, which had been advanced by the council of the brigade. The confidence in the brigade method was undermined. At another machine building plant, at which a similar practice existed in one of the shops, the organization of labor according to the brigade contract method adversely influenced the sociopsychological climate of the collective.

However, the very principle of the determination of the coefficient of labor participation so far is far from perfection. As is known, the majority of brigades use the source or base coefficient of labor participation. It is usually determined by dividing the average wage of the brigade member during the past 3-6 months by 100. A number of experts have expressed the opinion: for workers with a high wage the source coefficients of labor participation are a kind of rent. The following example is characteristic. In the brigade at the same time as the calculations of the coefficients they kept a record of the individual output. It turned out that one of the workers with a high base coefficient of labor participation received for the month 110 rubles more than was actually earned. The conclusion is forced upon one--the base coefficients of labor participation must be revised monthly, and not once a year. However, the majority of experts believe: the described case is an exception, which merely confirms the rule. But the general rule is as follows: in the brigade everything is in the open, and fairness is quickly restored.

Some experts believe that it is possible to overcome the shortcomings of the coefficient of labor participation by the daily recording of the results of work. In particular, to calculate daily in rubles the volume of the performed assignments, and to issue the money at the end of each week. This measure should increase the smoothness of production. However, many experts have expressed doubt: Will it be possible under the conditions, when there are no precise assignments for the month and irregularities with supply exist, to set up effective daily recording?

Life, however, convinces us that daily recording is an entirely practicable matter. Operational planning with a breakdown by days was introduced at one of the studied plants. This made it possible to carry out the daily recording of the fulfillment of the assignment by the brigade, and within the brigade to determine precisely who is responsible for the production of a specific part. The opportunity to calculate the labor contribution of each person is thereby created.

In the Dnepr River area a search is constantly being made for new means of developing the brigade method and experiments are being conducted. At a number of plants the following procedure has been in effect for a short time: the council of the brigade can increase the category of the best workers for 6 months. If during this

time they meet all the new requirements, the increase is approved officially, if not, the worker is deprived for a certain period of the right to the awarding of a higher category. What is this measure attributable to? Frequently it is disadvantageous to the members of the brigade to have in the collective people with high categories, since their wage considerably exceeds the average wage in the brigade in case of the same volume and skill of work as for the majority. The proposed method enables the members of the brigade to be clearly convinced, to what extent the increase of the category is accompanied by an increase of the labor contribution.

Subtleties, which are similar to those mentioned above, are encountered at every step on the path of the introduction of the new method. And here it is important that the inevitable difficulties of growth would not be perceived by the workers, especially piece workers, as evidence of the untenability of the brigade method. The survey of workers showed: their attitude toward the latter is quite contradictory. The brigade form was supported by 34.5 percent of the respondents, half of whom supported it without reservation and even made suggestions on the development of the brigade method. A significant portion of those surveyed displayed ignorance of or indifference to the matter. These are those who were at a loss to respond (14.7 percent), who responded that they have a poor idea of what impact the brigade forms will yield (5.9 percent), expressed indifference as to whether there would be an individual or collective form of work (2.0 percent) and regard the wage at the main thing (20.2 percent). In all 12.0 percent doubt whether the specific nature of production will make it possible to introduce the brigade method. In all 10.7 percent of the respondents spoke against it. It should be emphasized: among the workers covered by the brigade forms the level of satisfaction with it was twice as great as the average for the sampled population. The obtained data agree with the results of other studies.

The data of the survey make it possible to distinguish two basic groups of problems of the brigade organization of labor: organizational problems, which are characteristic of the stage of the formation of brigades; economic problems, which arise most urgently a year after the creation of brigades. The problems of the socio-psychological level are usually a consequence of the mentioned factors. The shortcomings of an organizational order are explained, in our opinion, first of all by the poor understanding by workers and engineering and technical personnel of the essence and principles of the brigade method. However, in any case the change of the economic relations at the enterprise is the basis of the gradual implementation of the principles of the new organization of labor. Under present conditions the contract appears as a form which is equal to the brigade method of economic regulation. However, in practice the latter is encountered rarely, especially in industry. The main reason is the difficulties in the timely and comprehensive supply of the brigade with materials, tools, blanks and so on. The solution of the problem, so it seems to us, should be sought in the direction of the introduction of local, brigade cost accounting.

In Dnepropetrovsk Oblast cost accounting has been introduced in less than 8 percent of the brigades. It is presumed that the situation will improve significantly after the implementation of the "Brigade" regional comprehensive goal program. Its measures are based on the study of the experience of the best enterprises of the Dnepr River region and the results of socioeconomic studies. In addition to measures on the development of cost accounting, the program contains sections, which are devoted

to the training of brigade leaders, the increase of the economic and social effectiveness of brigades, the socialist competition both within the brigades and between them and the coordination of the scientific studies of the forms of the organization of and payment for labor. It seems that the changeover to goal program planning is the main means of the improvement of the brigade method.

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ATTACHMENT OF PERSONNEL AT BAYKAL-AMUR RAILWAY LINE, ATOMMASH PLANT

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 83 (signed to press 20 Jul 83) pp 110-114

[Article by Viktor Vasil'yevich Voronov, responsible organizer of the Working Youth Department of the Komsomol Central Committee, and Georgiy Georgiyevich Sergeyev, chief of a sociological research group of the construction site of the Atommash Plant: "On the Attachment of Personnel at Key Construction Projects"]

[Text] When beginning the analysis of the factors, which promote the formation of a permanent population in the regions of new industrial development, it is expedient, in our opinion, to make a typology of the key construction project, directing attention in this case to the degree of development of the region. Three basic stages of development have been distinguished by us: the pre-initial (the creation of pioneer construction bases, a network of service lines and temporary settlements), the initial (the building of large industrial and power facilities and the construction of large settlements) and the industrial (the placement of enterprises and power facilities into operation, the creation of a modern urbanized environment).

From the point of view of the problem in question the first 2 years of the development of the regions of key construction projects are the most important, since during this time the potential source of the future permanent population--the contingent of construction workers--is formed.

The qualitative and quantitative analysis of the administrative territorial location and production structure of 135 key construction projects, to which Komsomol is acting as a sponsor, showed: 51 percent of the workers are working at construction projects of the first type (the Baykal-Amur Railway Line is among such projects), while 27 percent are employed at the construction site in the regions of the first stage of development (the Atommash Plant).

The studies at the Baykal-Amur Railway Line (1981) and the Atommash Plant (1982)¹ showed that the factors of the adaptability here of new settlers to a considerable

1. For more detail on the method and results of the studies, which were conducted within the framework of the comprehensive study of the social problems of key construction projects, see [1, 2].

V. V. Voronov published jointly in our journal with I. P. Smirnov the article "The Attachment of Young People to the Zone of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line" (No 2, 1981). G. G. Sergeyev is publishing a work in our journal for the first time.

extent depend on the social conditions of vital activity, which make it possible to meet the vital needs of the population in the sphere of labor, daily life and leisure.

The procedure of identifying the set of social factors, which influence the attachment of a regular labor force, consisted in the following. The conditions, which are set down by the respondents as necessary for their permanent residence in the region of a key construction project, were determined by means of the data of a written questionnaire. In all the 20 most important conditions, the ranking of which made it possible to identify the structure of the needs and the reason for the labor activity of the new settlers, were established in both groups--for the Baykal-Amur Railway Line and the Atomash Plant. The set of social factors of the adaptability of new settlers at key construction projects was determined with the use of the factor analysis² of the ranked conditions. The analysis was made according to the method of main factors. The value of the factor load, which is equal to 0.5, was selected as the significance test [3].

As a result the group of factors (see Table 1), which explain more than three-fourths of the total variance of the initial attributes (the conditions of adaptability) in the groups being studied, was identified. The significant factor loads, as well as the results of the computer analysis of the basic sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents, who in their questionnaires named the set of conditions forming the factor in question, were used for the convenience of interpretation.³

It is convenient to make the qualitative analysis of the set of social factors by examining them through the prism of needs, the meeting of which plays a significant role for the attachment of new settlers. The comparison of the data for the Baykal-Amur Railway Line and the Atomash Plant shows that in the groups of factor-forming conditions there are differences which are due to the peculiarities of the structures of the needs of the two surveyed groups. This makes certain adjustments in the interpretation of the distinguished factors.

Thus, the first factor as a whole can be characterized as "the increase of the material standard of living of the new settlers at the key construction project." However, subject to the development of the production and social infrastructure of the region the components, which make up this factor, are different.

The needs for the improvement of the material status, good supply and service are placed in the forefront among practically all the sociodemographic groups of construction workers of the Atomash Plant. Among the respondents of this group the proportion of those dissatisfied with the amounts of the wage (45.1 percent) and the supply with industrial goods (52.7 percent) is great.

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2. The factor analysis was made by means of a standard package of scientific sub-routines for the Unified System of Electronic Computers.
 3. The interpretation of the main factors is the search for a common property, perhaps a latent one, among the corresponding identified attributes (conditions). The interpretation is of primarily a qualitative nature.

Table 1

Social Factors of the Attachment of Construction Works to the Baykal-Amur
Railway Line and the Atommash Plant

Significant conditions	Factor loads
First factor	
Baykal-Amur Railway Line	
Good supply of children's foodstuffs.	0.84
Possibility of increasing skills.	-0.77
Good operation of local transportation.	0.79
Good supply with foodstuffs	0.69
Good personal service	0.57
Good operation of public dining enterprises	0.51
Second factor	
Good relations with fellow workers.	-0.91
Good organization of labor.	0.69
Good transportation connections with other regions of the country . .	0.65
Third factor	
Opportunity for all adult members of the family to work	-0.94
Opportunity to improve material status.	-0.91
Opportunity to obtain housing	0.58
Fourth factor	
Opportunity to continue education	-0.87
Opportunity to create a family.	-0.83
Good operation of public dining enterprises	-0.62
Good personal service	-0.60
Good attitude on the part of management	-0.60
First factor	
Atommash Plant	
Opportunity to improve material status.	0.80
Good transportation connections with other regions of the country . .	-0.87
Good supply with industrial goods	0.67
Good personal service	0.65
Good attitude on the part of management	0.60
Second factor	
Provision of residential blocks in the city with amenities.	-0.86
Good relations with fellow workers.	-0.82
Availability of places at children's institutions	0.73
Opportunity to increase skills.	-0.68
Opportunity for further training of children.	0.63
Third factor	
Good organization of labor.	-0.92
Opportunity to work in one's specialty.	0.84

[Table continued on following page]

Significant conditions	Factor loads
	Fourth factor
Interesting job.	-0.85
Smooth operation of urban transportation	-0.82
Opportunity to obtain housing.	0.67
Opportunity to spend leisure time in an interesting way.	0.65

As for the Baykal-Amur Railway Line, here in the set of unmet material needs, which are responsible for the formation of the first factor, there is no need for the improvement of the material status. This is connected with the greater satisfaction with the amounts of the wage as compared with the construction workers of the Atom-mash Plant. A significant portion of the construction workers of the railway line (67.2 percent) believe that their material status has improved adequately. At the same time 69 percent of the respondents at the Baykal-Amur Railway Line are not satisfied with the supply with foodstuffs; 44.8 percent--the supply with children's foodstuffs; 58 percent--transportation service in population centers; 47.8 percent--the operation of public dining enterprises.

The qualitative interpretation of the second and third factors of the attachment of a regular labor force at the Atom-mash Plant and the Baykal-Amur Railway Line is an unusual inversion. Whereas at the Atom-mash Plant the second factor as a whole reflects the specific needs of the families, who have come here and are oriented toward long-term residence, at the Baykal-Amur Railway Line it is connected with the sphere of labor activity and attests first of all to the interest of the construction workers in the good organization of labor. The respondents see precisely in this a guarantee of the meeting of their material and social requirements. And vice versa. The third factor for those surveyed at the Atom-mash Plant can be characterized as an interest in the good organization of labor, while for the respondents of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line--as the meeting of the needs of the families of new settlers.

The fourth factor reflects the needs of the group of young construction workers. Such components as the desire to have an interesting job and diverse leisure, the opportunities and conditions for the creation of a family, the continuation of studies, the increase of skills and so on belong here. In this case the composition of the needs of the young construction workers of the Atom-mash Plant and the Baykal-Amur Railway Line is different. For the former the problem of improving housing conditions is most urgent, while for the latter--the opportunity to continue one's education. Here it is appropriate to note that the majority of boys and girls, who are participating in the construction of the railway line and the Atom-mash Plant, have a sufficiently high level of education, and more than half of them are workers of high and average skill (see Table 2). However, one young construction worker in four is engaged in unskilled and auxiliary labor. The formed situation is hindering the creative growth and skills advancement of young people, and this in the end adversely influences their intention to stay at the construction project. The importance of this factor for the attachment of a regular labor force is very great, since, as our study showed, the young construction workers of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line and the Atom-mash Plant are more demanding on the content of the job being performed as compared with the representatives of older age groups, who more often concentrate their attention on the everyday and material aspects of vital activity.

Table 2

Composition of the Construction Workers of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line
and the Atommash Plant According to Education, Percent

Contingents of those surveyed	Level of education						
	elementary (up to the 7th grade)	incomplete secondary	secondary	vocational and techni- cal school	secondary specialized	incomplete higher	higher
Construction workers of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line:							
at the age of:							
up to 30.	0.1	9.5	44.4	15.7	19.7	5.5	5.1
over 30	8.7	18.0	27.5	10.6	21.6	4.8	8.8
Construction workers of the Atommash Plant:							
at the age of:							
up to 30.	0.4	7.7	49.2	15.0	17.2	4.9	5.6
over 30	8.0	17.1	35.7	7.0	20.0	3.3	8.9

The interpretation of the set of social factors gives a differentiated picture of the "sore" points of the problem of the formation of a permanent population at key construction projects like the Baykal-Amur Railway Line and the Atommash Plant. The consideration of the factors in the plans of the socioeconomic development of the regions of key construction projects will make it possible to increase the adaptability of new settlers. In this connection it is advisable to dwell on some conclusions and recommendations, which directly ensue from the data of the conducted study.

First of all it should be stressed that the complete consideration and regulation of the entire set of factors of a production, organizational and socioeconomic nature with reference to the specific nature of the specific conditions are necessary. In other words, the accomplishment of the task of stabilizing the manpower resources of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line and the Atommash Plant is possible only on the basis of the improvement of the economic mechanism itself. No matter what measures are implemented in the area of material stimulation and the improvement of the conditions of the vital activity of the population, this will hardly lead to significant changes in the decrease of the turnover and the attachment of personnel, if the efficient use of the available manpower and the decrease thereby of the additional need for it are not ensured.

At present the question of the planned implementation of the scientifically sound concept of the economic and social development of the zone of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line and the Atommash Plant and the formation of the production and social infrastructures, which conform to the basic conditions of these regions and their importance in the program of the long-range development of the country, is arising

with utmost urgency. At present approximately 1 out of every 6 rubles of the money invested in the development of the zone of the Baykal-Amur Railway Line is being spent on the infrastructure, which no longer meets the increased demands. In turn, the provision of the population of the Atommash Plant with social facilities (schools, children's institutions, movie theaters, enterprises of trade, public dining and so on) as compared with the approved standards comes on the average to not more than 50-60 percent.

It is necessary, in our opinion, to carry out the financing of nonproduction construction in the zone of key construction projects by means of the assets which are allocated by all the ministries and departments which are participating in economic assimilation and industrial development. The amount of these assets and resources should be oriented toward the meeting of the needs of not only the population already living here, but also the population being newly attracted.

Among the most important social tasks, the accomplishment of which will promote the formation of a permanent population, the establishment of a favorable moral and psychological climate and the improvement of interpersonal relations at the works and the place of residence should especially be noted. The construction workers of key construction projects express a high opinion of a favorable microclimate as a condition of adaptability, attaching identical importance to good interpersonal relations both "vertically" (manager--subordinate) and "horizontally" (with fellow workers). At a whole the respondents express satisfaction with the relations in the production collective (61.9 percent at the Baykal-Amur Railway Line and 64.3 percent at the Atommash Plant), but the untapped reserves in the optimization of the moral and psychological climate are still very great.

The social factors of the formation of a permanent population, which were identified during the study, should, in our opinion, become the basis for the improvement of social planning, the basis for the drafting or adjustment of the plans of the economic and social development of the labor collectives, which are being formed in the regions of key construction projects of the pre-initial and initial stages of industrial development. This completely conforms to the instructions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the November (1982) and June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenums on the increase of the role of social factors in the implementation of the socio-economic strategy of the party for the years of the 11th Five-Year Plan and the distant future.

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SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF COLLECTIVES IN TAJIK LOCAL INDUSTRY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 83 (signed to press 22 Jul 83) pp 114-121

[Article by Aleksandr Borisovich Borzenko, student of the Academy of the National Economy attached to the USSR Council of Ministers: "The Planning of the Social Development of Labor Collectives in Local Industry of the Tajik SSR"]

[Text] Under the conditions of the intensification of the national economy the use of social factors in economic development is acquiring greater and greater importance. Among them an important place belongs to the national regional peculiarities [2], the influence of which in Central Asia is very appreciable. Thus, Tajikistan is characterized by the highest growth rate of the population in the country: in 1980, for example, it exceeded the average union growth rate by 3.6-fold [4, p 33--calculation of the author]. Tajikistan is the only republic in which in recent years the proportion of the rural inhabitants has increased. In 1981 the ratio between the urban and rural population was 34 : 66, for the USSR as a whole it was 63 : 37 [4, p 7; 5, p 5].

The involvement in social production of the rapidly increasing manpower resources of the republics of Central Asia, it was emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, is an exceptionally important socioeconomic task [1]. Local industry can and should play an important role in the solution of the problem. The development of the network of its enterprises and the extensive use of labor at home (primarily female labor) are making it possible to "set into action" those groups of the population, which for the present are employed only in housework or on the private plot [3]. This, incidentally, does not require great additional expenditures on the conveyance, the provision with housing and the social service of manpower. At the same time the location of branches and shops of enterprises of local industry in the remote rayons of the republics will promote their further industrialization and the more complete and efficient use of local types of raw materials. Moreover, the skills of industrial labor, which have been acquired by rural inhabitants, especially of the indigenous nationalities, can then find use in more complex processes. Thus, local industry is of great importance for the acceleration of progressive changes in the life style of the population of the republics and the equalization of the levels of the socioeconomic development of different regions.

A. B. Borzenko specializes in the problems of social planning. He is publishing a work in our journal for the first time.

Now local industry of Tajikistan is a multisectorial complex of enterprises of re-public subordination, which produces mainly consumer goods for the population of the region. Various local raw materials and waste products of industrial and agricultural enterprises are used in production. Production associations, at which about 75 percent of the workers of the sector are employed, produce more than 80 percent of the products. The shops, sections and branches, as a rule, are scattered over a significant territory, in order to bring production close to the sources of manpower resources. The number of workers at the parent enterprises usually comes to 1,500, at the branches--less than 100. Among the workers the proportion of women, including those engaged in labor at home, is high.

The consolidation of the associations of local industry of the Tajik SSR, which has been carried out in recent years, has faced planning and management with new economic, organizational, legal and social problems. The analysis of the social plans shows that primarily the association as a whole acts as their object. Meanwhile it usually includes up to 10 small enterprises which frequently are up to 100 km from each other.

Are the personnel of such an association a single collective or a special group of collectives? In our opinion, the basic qualities of labor collectives are characteristic first of all of the group of workers of the branches. Of course, the enterprises of the association have a common economic, organizational and technological character. However, they are separated territorially and usually belong to different administrative rayons, relatively independent public organizations exist in each branch.

In practice during the compilation of the social sections of the comprehensive plans of associations the specific nature of the collectives of the branches and sections is inadequately taken into account, while plans of the social development of the subdivisions, as a rule, are not compiled. The difficulties in the planning of the social development of the labor collectives of the subdivisions are first of all of an objective nature. The set of measures being outlined should be based on the plan of the association as a whole. At the same time the interests of the collectives of the branches stem to a considerable extent from the everyday and sociocultural peculiarities of the settlements, in which the enterprise is located, and from the sociodemographic composition of its workers. Moreover, under the conditions of Tajikistan the specialization of the associations (accordingly of their branches as well) differs substantially, which affects the content and conditions of labor and the level of the payment for it.

In 1982 a sociological study was conducted at the Shveymestprom Sewing Association and the Dilorom Association of Folk Art Industries for the purpose of identifying the urgent problems of the social development of the collectives of associations of local industry.¹

The analysis of the obtained data shows that the enterprises differ greatly in the occupational skills composition of the workers (see Figure 1). The average level of skills of the workers at the parent enterprises is significantly higher than in the sections in small cities and settlements. This is explained by the fact that for the most part women and girls of the indigenous nationalities--yesterday's housewives or the graduates of secondary schools, who do not have vocational training and a length of service--come to the shops which are being created in small

cities and rural areas. Among workers of the Russian nationality the proportion of people of high skill increases with the transfer to older age groups. The inverse relationship is characteristic of Tajiki. Thus, the most important direction of the socioeconomic development of the labor collectives of local industry is the improvement of the skills composition of the workers.

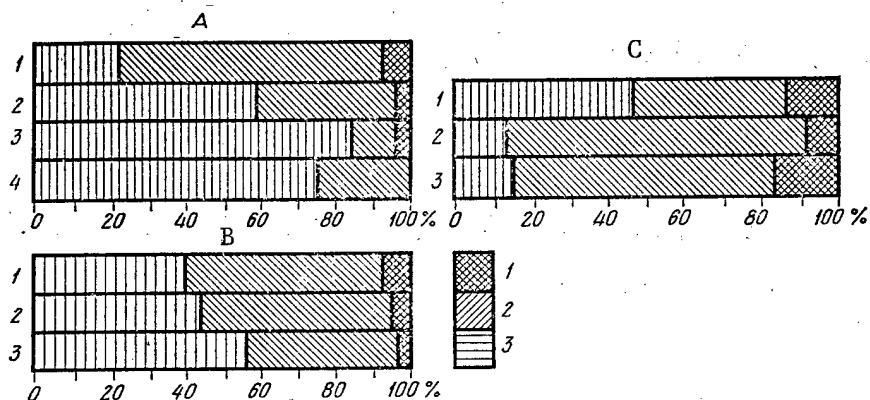


Figure 1. Level of Skills of the Workers. 1--skilled workers; 2--workers of average skill; 3--workers of low skill. A--subject to the place of location of the enterprise (1--Dushanbe; 2--Kurgan-Tyube; 3--Gissar; 4--Karatag); B--Tajik workers (1--up to the age of 30; 2--31-49 years old; 3--50 years old and older); C--Russian workers (1--up to the age of 30; 2--31-49 years old; 3--50 years old and older)

What has been said confirms the experience of the drafting and implementation of the plan of the economic and social development of the Shveymestprom Association. The sociological study conducted here in 1977² made it possible to outline specific measures on the improvement of the socio-occupational structure of the collective on the basis of its social, national and demographic peculiarities.

It turned out, for example, that in spite of the surpluses of manpower among the indigenous population (Tajiki and Uzbeks), at the enterprises of the association the proportion of workers of nonindigenous nationalities is high. At the enterprises of Dushanbe Russians made up 54.5 percent; at the branches in Gissar and Kulyab--26 percent (according to the 1979 census the proportion of Russians in the population of Dushanbe came to 38.5 percent, in Gissarskiy Rayon--6.3 percent, in Kulyab Oblast--1.8 percent [6]). Let us add to this: 58 percent of the workers of the Russian nationality in the association are migrants from the RSFSR.

One of the main causes of the low proportion of representatives of the indigenous nationalities among the workers of the association is the lack of elementary vocational training among the majority of the local population of remote rayons. The leading role in the solution of the problem of forming new staffs of workers locally should belong to the system of vocational and technical education. So far in Tajikistan its development obviously does not meet the needs of the national economy; graduates of vocational and technical schools make up only 28 percent of the workers of the republic. Of the 500 occupations needed by the republic, workers are being trained at vocational and technical school in only 140. The schools are distributed nonuniformly, for the most part in large cities and rayons, while in

nearly a fourth of the rayons, where the overwhelming majority of the population lives in villages, there are no schools at all [7--calculation of the author]. In 1980 the graduating class of skilled workers in the system of vocational and technical education of the republic came to 46 people per 10,000, while for the country as a whole the indicator was equal to 92 [4, p 375].

The fact that among the students of the vocational and technical schools of the republic the proportion of girls, especially of the indigenous nationalities, is low, should be noted. For example, in 1980 their proportion (the data of the Tajik SSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education) came to only 11.3 percent, while among the population of the republic the proportion of women is 50.6 percent [4, p 6]. Moreover, the schools train personnel for enterprises of union and union-republic subordination, that is, for large-scale industry, so far not one vocational and technical school of the republic is dealing with the needs of local industry. In 1982 among the workers of local industry of Tajikistan there were only 0.8 percent who had graduated from a vocational and technical school. The fact that the proportion of skilled workers among Tajiki and Uzbeks is considerably lower than the proportion of skilled workers of the Russian nationality (see Figure 2), in many ways is explained by all of this.

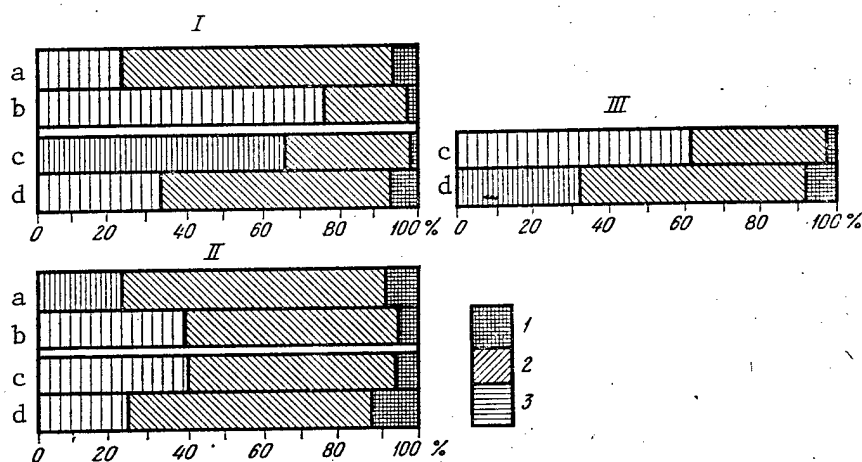


Figure 2. Dynamics of the Skills of Workers. 1--skilled workers; 2-- workers of average skill; 3--workers of low skill. I--at the Shveymestprom Association in 1977; II--at the same enterprise in 1982; III--at the Dilorom Association in 1982. a--at the parent enterprise; b--at the enterprises of branches; c--workers of the indigenous nationalities; d--Russian workers

When drafting the plan of the social development of the Shveymestprom Association particular attention was devoted to the improvement of the skills structure and the increase of the proportion of workers, employees and engineering and technical personnel of the indigenous nationalities to their proportion among the population of the corresponding oblasts. At the association they set up an educational combine with support advice centers locally, where the workers, including homeworkers, who are employed in remote sections and branches, could obtain elementary vocational training (at the level of category 1-2) and increase their skills. The plans of

the social development of the collectives of the subdivisions began to be submitted for approval to the local soviets of people's deputies, which ensured the closer coordination of the sectorial and regional aspects of the plan.

As a result of purposeful work the association in the past 5 years achieved significant gains. The number of workers increased by 27.3 percent by means of the creation of branches and shops in the labor-abundant rayons of the republic, the volume of production of consumer goods increased by 55.8 percent, labor productivity increased by 43.2 percent. Appreciable positive changes occurred in the sphere of the social development of the collective (see Figure 2 and Table 1).

Table 1

National Composition of the Collective of the Shveymestprom Association,
percent

Nationalities	1977		1982		Average for republic, according to 1979 census*
	average for association	at parent enterprise	average for association	at parent enterprise	
Tajiki. . . .	43.3	20.8	55.0	40.1	58.8
Uzbeks. . . .	12.6	13.0	13.3	13.9	22.9
Russians. . .	36.2	54.5	25.0	37.8	10.4
Other nationalities	7.9	11.7	6.7	8.2	7.9

* Source: [5, p 7].

At the association it was possible to decrease significantly the gap in the average level of skills of the Tajik and Russian workers. Of course, so far the lag has not yet been completely overcome, but it is significantly less (about 10 percent) than at those associations of the ministry, in which plans have not been compiled. Thus, at the Dilorom Association the indicator of the average level of skills among Russians exceeds by nearly twofold the same indicator among Tajiki. During the period in question 55 percent of the workers received elementary vocational training at the educational combine of the Shveymestprom Association, 15 percent increased their skills.

The appreciable changes in the national composition of the workers (see Table 1)--it approximated the structure of the population of the republic, while at the parent enterprise it approximated the structure of the population of Dushanbe--were a direct consequence of the improvement of the occupational skills structure of the collective. The national composition of the production collectives of the branches at present in practice conforms to the proportion of the different nationalities in the population of the corresponding small cities and settlements. The ratio of specialists with a higher and secondary specialized education also changed, now in the group the proportion of the representatives of the indigenous nationalities comes to 36.1 percent as against 12.6 percent in 1977. Among the workers of the association the proportion of migrants, first of all from the oblasts of the Central RSFSR, Siberia and the Urals, decreased and at the same time the number of workers from the local population increased (see Table 2).

At the enterprises of Tajikistan the proportion of homeworkers comes to 26 percent. The comparison of the results of our studies with the already available materials

makes it possible to draw the conclusion that the specific national regional nature has an especially strong influence on work at home as a form of the organization of work. Thus, according to the data of N. M. Shishkan, in Moldavia primarily middle age women are included in this mentioned group. An unsatisfactory state of health or a low level of education is the main reason for their working at home. Young women regard this form of work as forced temporary employment. The author comes to the conclusion: work at home "can be used only if it is impossible to organize work under the conditions of a partial workday directly at the enterprise" [8].

Table 2

Breakdown of Workers of the Shveymprom Association by Place of Residence, percent

	1977			1982		
	Average for association	Factory in Dushanbe	Branches in Kulyab and Gissar	Average for association	Factory in Dushanbe	Branches in Kulyab and Gissar
"Where did you live before you started working at the association?"						
...I have been living in this place permanently.	34.6	12.9	45.5	58.9	41.3	67.8
...in another rayon of Tajikistan.	24.2	25.8	23.4	23.3	24.0	23.0
...in another republic of Central Asia	13.9	9.6	16.0	6.0	3.4	7.2
...in another region of the USSR".	27.3	51.7	15.1	11.8	31.3	4.0

Under the conditions of Central Asia the matter is somewhat different. Our study showed that women for the most part from 25 to 45 years old (70 percent of all the workers of this group) work at home; more than 40 percent of the group have an education of 10 grades and more; the average size of the family of homeworkers is eight people, and the proportion of workers, in whose family there are five and more children, comes to 35 percent. Representatives of the indigenous nationalities make up 75 percent of the group (in Kulyab and Gissar--98 percent, in Dushanbe--65.3 percent).

What are the prospects of the home forms of the organization of labor? During the study the respondents were asked the question: "Could you work not under home conditions, but directly at the enterprise, but a partial workday?" In all 70 percent responded negatively to this question. Moreover, the female representatives of the indigenous nationalities, who work at the branches, for the most part supported the preservation of the established working conditions (see Figure 3). Let us note in passing that the distribution of the responses of people of the indigenous nationalities is close to their proportion among the personnel of the enterprises being studied.

The desire of the majority of those surveyed to work at home is a result of the effect of many factors: first, there is the large size of the families of the

overwhelming majority of the representatives of the indigenous nationalities, a consequence of which is their being busy with household matters and work on the private plot; second, the lack of places in preschool institutions and the low level of development of the sphere of service in small cities and settlements and, finally, the low social and occupational mobility of the indigenous population, which is due to national traditions [3].

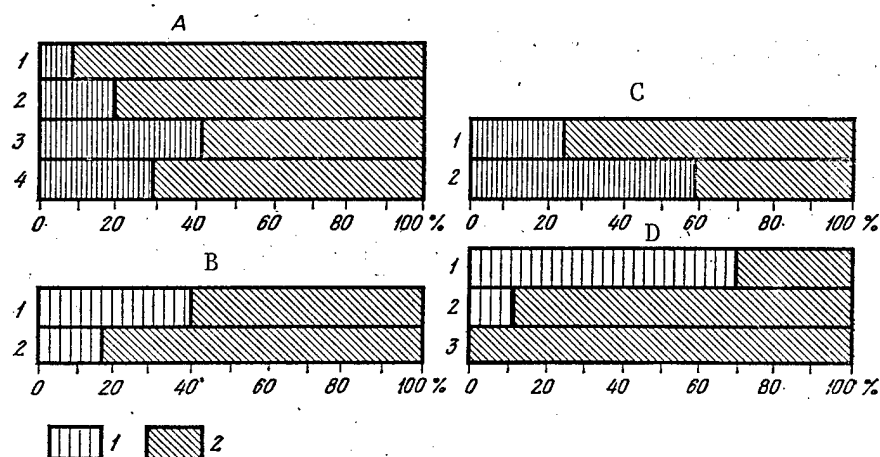


Figure 3. Breakdown of the Responses to the Question: "Could you work not under home conditions, but directly at the enterprise, but a partial workday?" 1--affirmative response; 2--negative response. A--subject to nationality (1--Tajik women, 2--Uzbek women, 3--Russian women, 4--female representatives of other nationalities). B--subject to place of residence (1--Dushanbe; 2--Kulyab and Gissar). C--subject to the availability of a private plot (1--have; 2--do not have). D--subject to the number of children (1--one to two children; 2--three to four children; 3--five and more children)

For confirmation of what has been said let us cite the following data. More than 85 percent of the homeworkers in Kulyab and Gissar live in their own houses with orchard and garden plots and keep domestic livestock and poultry; in Dushanbe only 16 percent are of this type. In 1980 the sales volume of personal services to the population of the republic per inhabitant came to 20.8 rubles, while in rural areas it came to 14.4 rubles; for the USSR as a whole this indicator was equal to 29.5 rubles, in rural areas--21.3 rubles [4, pp 7, 452; 5, p 5].

The calculation of the Pearson's coefficients and the analysis of the statistical connection between the factors [9] made it possible to identify their role in the enlistment of people employed in home labor in work directly at a works (see Table 3). It turned out that the significance of the conditions varies substantially subject to the type of settlement. Thus, for the surveyed homeworkers in Kulyab and Gissar the choice of the working conditions is determined first of all by the following factors: the number of children in the family, the degree of burdening with family duties, national traditions in the way of life. The amount of monetary income per family member, the level of general and vocational education, the possibility for children to attend preschool institutions act as the main

factors for the respondents in Dushanbe. For the homeworkers of Kulyab and Gissar the last condition is not so significant. Apparently the tradition of rearing children under home conditions has been preserved in these population centers.

Table 3

Factors Determining the Preferable Forms of the Organization of Work
for Respondents*

Factors	Place of work of those surveyed						Generalized rank (R)
	Dushanbe		Kulyab		Gissar		
	C	R	C	R	C	R	
Degree of burdening with family duties.	0.32	5	0.37	2	0.52	1	1
Number of children in the family. . .	0.31	6	0.59	1	0.38	3	2
National peculiarities of life style.	0.30	7	0.27	4	0.40	2	3
Level of education.	0.36	2	0.22	6	0.32	5	3
Monetary income per family member . .	0.47	1	0.13	9	0.33	4	4
Level of development of sphere of service	0.33	4	0.24	5	0.27	6	5
Possibility for children to attend preschool institutions.	0.34	3	0.19	7	0.18	9	6
Age of respondent	0.24	9	0.36	3	0.17	10	7
Labor traditions.	0.22	10	0.15	8	0.24	7	8
Possibility to choose the place of work and specialty.	0.15	11	0.12	10	0.19	8	9
National traditions in rearing children.	0.29	8	0.10	11	0.14	11	10

* C--Pearson coefficient; R--rank of factor.

In short, in Tajikistan for women of the indigenous nationalities, who are mothers, work at home is now the basic, and in many instances the only possible form of participation in social production and, consequently, an important means of increasing their social activeness. Not without reason did more than 80 percent of the surveyed female homeworkers declare that they sense themselves to be full members of the labor collective. In all 93 percent are members of a trade union; about 60 percent have assumed socialist obligations, 23 percent are performing various public assignments, 47 percent expressed the wish to increase their skills.

The further social development of the labor collectives of enterprises of local industry and the involvement in social production of the able-bodied indigenous population of the republics of Central Asia requires the conducting of special studies and on this basis the mandatory consideration in the plans of social development of the demographic and national regional peculiarities of socioeconomic processes. The improvement of the occupational, skills and demographic structure of labor collectives, the increase of the social mobility of the population, the development of the labor and public activeness of the workers, the creation of favorable socioeconomic conditions and first of all the organization of new production sections with home forms of labor in the population centers of the republic, which have manpower resources, should become the most important goals of such plans.

FOOTNOTES

1. The program of the study was elaborated with the participation of the author by staff members of the Chair of Marxism-Leninism of the Academy of the National Economy attached to the USSR Council of Ministers. The study was conducted under the supervision of the author. The sample is a quota sample, within the range of 15-20 percent of the total number of workers. The data of the statistical returns of associations were also used during the study.

Seven territorially separate production units are included in the Shveymestprom Sewing Association (1,700 people are employed), while nine are included in the Dilorom Association of Folk Art Industries (1,890 people); the parent enterprises of both associations (respectively 240 and 280 people were surveyed) are located in the capital of the republic. In addition to Dushanbe the survey was conducted in the oblast cities of Kulyab (50 people), Kurgan-Tyube (50 people), the urban-type settlements of Gissar (60 people) and Karatag (30 people). The named population centers (except for Dushanbe and in part Kurgan-Tyube) are characterized by a high proportion (especially among women) of the unemployed population. At the same time at all the surveyed enterprises, as in local industry of the republic as a whole, women predominate (from 75 to 95 percent).

2. The study, as well as the drafting of the plan were carried out with the participation of the author by staff members of the Sociological Research Laboratory of the Tajik State University imeni V. I. Lenin.

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FACTS, COMMENTS, NOTES (FROM THE WORKTABLE OF THE SOCIOLOGIST)

SEASONAL NATURE OF KOLKHOZ LABOR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 83 (signed to press 20 Jul 83) pp 126-128

[Article by Vladimir Semenovich Dragel', senior instructor of the Chair of Philosophy of the Altay Institute of Agriculture: "The Seasonal Nature and Smoothness of the Labor of Kolkhoz Farmers"]

[Text] At the 26th CPSU Congress it was noted that "during the 1970's the convergence of all the classes and social groups of Soviet society continued" [2], which found expression, in particular, in the convergence of their way of life, including in the main sphere of vital activity--labor. The tendency for a uniform length of the workday and work week of the workers of industry and kolkhoz farms to be established and the convergence of the conditions and rhythms of their labor are important indicators of this process.

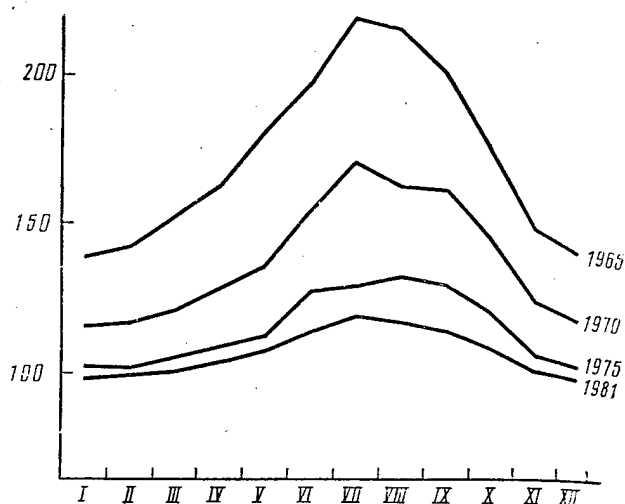
Agricultural production so far has been more dependent as compared with industry on natural rhythms. With the introduction of industrial methods in agricultural production this dependence is also gradually decreasing here. It should be noted that "...there are peculiarities of farming, which are absolutely unavoidable.... As a result of these peculiarities large-scale mechanized industry in farming will never be distinguished by ALL [in italics] the traits which it has in industry" [1]. For example, after the sowing campaign breaks, during which people turn to other jobs, arise in agricultural production. A great diversity of the types of operations, which are performed during the year, is characteristic of agriculture in general.

The lack of smoothness of agricultural production is responsible for the lack of smoothness of the labor of not only individual workers, but production collectives as a whole. A busy time (sowing, the harvesting of the crop), when in a short period it is necessary to perform a large amount of work, for which it is necessary to attract additional manpower resources, comes annually at kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Therefore the redistribution of manpower occurs within the farm: people from other sections, as well as people who did not participate in production during the less intense periods are enlisted; moreover, the length of the workday and week increases. In the interests of production the boards of the kolkhozes have been granted the right to increase the length of the workday to 10 hours, as well as

V. S. Dragel' is publishing a work in our journal for the first time.

to abolish days off for a period of up to 2 months with the granting during subsequent periods of a shortened workday and additional days off.

In Altay Kray June-September are the most intense periods according to the labor expenditures, November-March are less intense (figure).¹ The saturation of agriculture with production equipment is decreasing the lack of smoothness of labor. Thus, whereas in 1965 the difference between the number of kolkhoz farmers employed in social production during the most and least intense months came to 57 percent, 15 years later it had decreased to 21.3 percent.



Change of the Number of Kolkhoz Farmers Employed in Social Production by Months and Years, thousands of people

The smoothing (attenuation) of the fluctuations in the expenditures of labor during the year is an objective process which is due to scientific and technical progress under the conditions of the socialist economic system. In the Altay it appears more vividly, since here there are more farming lands, including plowland, and more livestock per worker than on the average for the country.

The lack of smoothness of production has the result that not only the number of workers, but also the intensity of their labor are changing, which finds expression in the increase of the number of man-days worked during the month. Thus, in December 1981 every able-bodied kolkhoz farmer employed in social production worked on the average 21.9 days each during the month. During the summer months the number of days worked by each kolkhoz farmer increase and reached the maximum in September--24.3.

Of course, not all able-bodied kolkhoz farmers work an equal number of days during the year. There are substantial differences in the degree of participation of men and women in social production, since the latter devote much time to the

1. The diagram was compiled on the basis of the consolidate annual reports for the kolkhozes of Altay Kray for 1965, 1970, 1975 and 1981.

household. However, in recent years an equalization of the monthly total labor expenditures by months has been observed (see the table).

Participation of Kolkhoz Farmers of Altay Kray in Social Production*

	1965			1981		
	Man-days worked, thousands	Days worked per person	Did not work one day	Man-days worked, thousands	Days worked per person	Did not work one day
Adult able-bodied members of kolkhozes						
Men (16-60 years old)	22373	251.7	300	17236	272	75
Women (16-55 years old)	15383	165.4	4800	10318	219	851
Total.	37756	207.5	5100	27554	249.5	926

* The table was compiled on the basis of the consolidated annual reports of the kolkhozes of Altay Kray.

The data of the table show that in recent years significant changes have occurred in the sphere of the production activity of kolkhoz farmers. The number of days worked on the average per able-bodied person during the year increased by 20 percent. The number of able-bodied female kolkhoz farmers, who do not participate in social production (housewives), decreased to less than two-elevenths. The intensity of their labor participation in social production increased (by 32 percent).

The implementation of the Food Program, which envisages the further intensification of agricultural production on the basis of its industrialization, will undoubtedly lead to the even greater convergence of the conditions and rhythms of the labor of workers of agriculture and industry.

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STRUCTURE OF COLLECTIVE OF KAMA MOTOR VEHICLE PLANT

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 83 (signed to press 20 Jul 83) pp 128-130

[Article by Ravil' Akhatovich Latypov, member of the Soviet Sociological Association: "Changes in the Occupational Skills Structure of the Collective of the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant"]

[Text] It is possible to distinguish two periods in the process of the formation of the collective of the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant. The first, which there is every reason to call the period of the creation of the production potential, was characterized by the intensive increase of the number of workers, the absence of the planned occupational skills structure and the predominance of construction, installation, start-up and adjustment work. After the placement into operation of the first section the increase of the number of personnel slowed by a factor of 1.5, the collective, having been concentrated in the city of Naberezhnyye Chelny (since 1982 the city of Brezhnev), entered the final stage of its formation.

The social structure of the collective changed in conformity with the indicated periods (see Table 1). By the time of the start-up of the first section the number of workers has decreased somewhat, but then increased. The number of engineering and technical personnel at the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant led the increase of the other social groups, here the proportion of certified specialists among them ranged from 97 percent in 1973 to 95 percent in 1981.

Table 1

Dynamics of the Basic Social Groups in the Collective of the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant, in fractions

Social groups	1971	1973	1975	1982
Engineering and technical personnel.	4	5	3	3
Employees.	1	1	1	1
Workers.	10	18	14	16

R. A. Latypov published in our journal the article "The Dynamics of the Sex-Age Structure of the Collective of the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant" (No 1, 1982).

The social stratum of worker-intellectuals, which certified specialists employed at workplaces make up, is of particular importance when forming the labor collective. This stratum promotes the quickest possible assimilation of new equipment and the training of highly skilled specialists and is an important source of occupational mobility and a factor of the improvement of the social and occupational skills structure of the collective. At the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant certified specialists among the workers in 1974 made up 16.5 percent, in 1981--10.5 percent with an average indicator for machine building in 1973 of 5.9 percent [1]. Of the total number of certified specialists of the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant in 1974 39.2 percent were employed at workplaces, in 1981--31.4 percent. The analogous indicator for machine building in 1973 came to 18 percent [1]. The study of the intergroup mobility shows that in the increase of engineering and technical personnel and employees during 1976-1981 the proportion of those from among worker-intellectuals came to 68.5 percent. There also exists a counterflow of certified specialists, who shifted from engineering and technical personnel and employees to workers, but its "power" is two- to threefold weaker. Of course, the large number of certified workers at the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant in many ways determined the production potential of the collective and the successful staffing of the engineering services and the line personnel of the shops.

Similar changes are also characteristic of the occupational skills structure of the workers. Although the number of unskilled and low skilled workers at the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant is less than on the average at machine building enterprises of the country, from 1975 to 1982 no significant changes occurred in the occupational skills structure (see Table 2). In the auxiliary services of the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant, which are centralized within the framework of the association and are called complexwide services, about half of the workplaces require low skilled labor.

Table 2

Changes in the Occupational Skills Structure of the Workers
of the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant, percent

Level of skills	Basic production					Complexwide services				
	1975	1977	1979	1981	1982	1975	1977	1979	1981	1982
Low skilled.	28.6	35.0	30.2	26.2	23.9	51.5	46.6	53.5	50.5	49.8
Average skilled. . . .	51.0	47.1	56.3	54.3	56.6	34.2	36.6	34.3	35.3	35.6
Highly skilled	20.4	17.9	13.5	19.5	19.5	14.3	16.8	12.2	14.2	14.6

At the plants the proportion of low skilled workers is half as great, but there are 1.6-fold more who have categories 3-4 and 1.4-fold more highly skilled workers.

Junior service personnel make up a significant portion of the workers of the complexwide services. As a rule, these are married women up to the age of 35 with an incomplete secondary and secondary education. The junior service personnel are made up mainly from second members of the families which have come. Half of the workers of this group are employed in subdivisions which carry out basic production activity, the remainder work in housing and municipal services, public dining, at children's preschool institutions and so forth.

The analysis shows that by the end of 1981 young people up to the age of 30 made up 60.2 percent of the workers of the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant, young people with a

total length of service of up to 5 years made up 37.6 percent. In all 73 percent had a secondary, secondary specialized and higher education. Such characteristics as youthfulness, a short length of service and a high level of education are typical of migrants. Indeed, 70 percent of the workers of the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant came on their own initiative in the general flow of migrants.

The city of Brezhnev has had a substantial influence on the economy of the Tatar SSR. In turn the production potential of the local workers and engineering and technical personnel and the increased level of their general educational and vocational training are having a greater and greater influence on the social development of the collective of the association. In the total number of workers of the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant the proportion of Tatars from 1974 to 1982 increased from 14.9 percent to 31.1 percent, including among workers (including junior service personnel) to 34.4 percent and among engineering and technical personnel to 16.2 percent. This is explained by the development of higher and secondary specialized education in the city of Brezhnev and in Tataria, which is oriented toward the needs of the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant, by the opening of vocational and technical schools and a system of personnel training at the plants of the association, as well as by the fact that a larger and larger number of graduates of the schools of the city of Brezhnev are entering able-bodied age. The changes in the occupational skills structure of the collective of the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant also reflect the general trends of the social development of Soviet society: the increase of the technical equipment of labor and the skills of the working class, the enhancement of its role in the increase of the efficiency of social production.

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CASES OF PARASITISM STUDIED

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 83 (signed to press 20 Jul 83) pp 134-136

[Article by Candidate of Juridical Sciences Colonel of the Militia Konstantin Konstantinovich Gorniyainov, chief of a department of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, Senior Lieutenant of the Militia Safar Agayevich Dzhafarov, advanced student of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Candidate of Juridical Sciences Captain of the Militia Vladimir Semenovitch Ovchinskiy, deputy chief of a department of the Main Administration of Internal Affairs of the Moscow Oblast Soviet Executive Committee: "On Some Results of the Study of Cases of Parasitism"]

[Text] The intensification of the campaign against people, who lead a parasitic way of life, is of great importance in the matter of tightening up labor discipline and law and order. At a meeting with Moscow machine tool builders General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yu. V. Andropov noted that absentees, careless workers and loafers do harm no so much to themselves as to the collective and society as a whole. Being an antisocial phenomenon, parasitism entails serious negative consequences of an economic, legal and moral nature. Under the conditions when individual sectors of the national economy of the country are experiencing an acute shortage of manpower resources and this trend, apparently, will continue during the next few years, the evasion by a certain category of citizens of socially useful labor leads to substantial economic losses.

The legal and moral costs of parasitism are also no less serious--people who do not work anywhere constitute a kind of "reserve" for the reproduction of crime. Suffice it to say that in Moscow oblast one person in three of those, against whom criminal proceedings were instituted for thefts, robberies and break-ins, prior to committing the crime was in fact a parasite, and in half of the cases already had a previous conviction.

The sociological study of parasites, which was conducted in 1982 by the Main Administration of Internal Affairs of the Moscow Oblast Soviet Executive Committee and the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs (with the participation of the authors) in a number of rayons of Moscow Oblast,

K. K. Goryainov, S. A. Dzhafarov and V. S. Ovchinskiy are specialists in the area of criminology and are publishing a work in our journal for the first time.

made it possible to reveal several social characteristics of this category of people and to analyze the effectiveness of the preventive and other measures, which are being implemented by organs of the militia and the public. The following groups of citizens were studied: a) "inveterate parasites," that is, people against whom criminal proceedings have been instituted in accordance with Article 209 of the RSFSR Criminal Code;¹ b) "criminals," that is, people without specific occupations, against whom criminal proceedings have also been instituted, but not for parasitism, but for thefts, robberies, break-ins, swindling, the stealing of means of transportation and other criminal acts; c) so-called people under treatment or, in other words, citizens, who have come under the purview of the militia as a result of the quite long-term evasion of socially useful labor and to whom the organs of the militia are applying a set of preventive educational measures. In all 472 people were surveyed by the method of the formalized interview. The materials of criminal cases and documents on the performed preventive work were studied.

When responding to the question about means of existence, 58 percent of all those surveyed reported that they were supported by their parents. Such responses are most typical of the group of "inveterate parasites" (67 percent). Among the representatives of the two other groups the analogous indicator comes to 50 and 59 percent respectively. Sporadic earnings are a very widespread source of "income"--one surveyed person in five resorted to them. In all 26 percent of the "inveterate parasites," 12 percent of "those under treatment" and 4 percent of the "criminals" earned a living by the collection and turning in of glass containers. One respondent in 10 lived at the expense of his wife. One person in 10 of the surveyed population lived on assets obtained by criminal means (as a result of thefts, speculation, swindling). However, this indicator fluctuates substantially subject to the affiliation with one or another of the above-designated categories of citizens. It is the highest in the group of "criminals"--26 percent. Among "inveterate parasites" and "those under treatment" this indicator is negligible (respectively 1 and 4 percent). In other words, for the representatives of the first group the committing of crimes has become a customary affair.

The materials of the study make it possible to draw a conclusion which is paradoxical at first glance: that category of nonworking people, for which overt forms of antisocial acts (drunkenness, petty hooliganism, petty thefts) are least characteristic, requires particular attention on the part of the organs of the militia and the public. As evidence let us cite the following facts. Whereas among "inveterate parasites" 54 percent had been placed in medical treatment centers for alcoholics, among "those under treatment" 45 percent had been, while among "criminals" 40 percent had been. In all 83 percent of the "inveterate parasites," 62 percent of "those under treatment" and 55 percent of the "criminals" were held administratively accountable for petty hooliganism, petty thefts, petty speculation and other offenses. As we see, the latter more rarely displayed openly their antisocial

1. Taking into account the great social danger of parasitism, significant changes were made in this article by the Ukase of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet of 11 October 1982. Liability to criminal prosecution was established not only for long-term systematic vagrancy, begging and the similar leading of a parasitic way of life, but also for parasitism for several months. Harsher punishment for the evasion of socially useful labor is also envisaged. Similar changes were also made in the criminal legislation of other union republics.

activity, while the other two categories of those surveyed, on the contrary, did not undertake any actions to conceal in some way their parasitic way of life. They drank heavily, engaged in hooliganism and were, as they say, "in the eye" of the staff members of the militia and the public.

The differences in the behavior of the mentioned groups of citizens also predetermined the specific steps of the organs of internal affairs. Only 2 percent of the "criminals" were sent by the militia to enterprises for the purpose of job placement, while for "inveterate parasites" and "those under treatment" the analogous indicator was equal respectively to 19 and 16 percent. An official warning on the intolerability of a parasitic way of life was given to only 18 percent of the "criminals," meanwhile as applied to "those under treatment" this indicator was equal to 74 percent. The mentioned measure was applied to "inveterate parasites" in all instances without exception.

The analysis of the pursuits of those surveyed attests: the majority of them (72 percent) spent time in the company of the same kind of parasites. Moreover, the "criminals" entered into contact with people, who in the past had a previous conviction, much more often than the "inveterate parasites" and "those under treatment." During the period of nonengagement in labor 65 percent of the respondents consumed alcoholic beverages. The largest proportion of those who consumed alcohol daily is noted among the "inveterate parasites"--80 percent.

As was already noted, the preventive work of the organs of internal affairs and the public requires an individualized approach to the various categories of people who evade socially useful labor. In this sense it is possible to divide all parasites conditionally into obvious and concealed parasites. The first category is the drunkards, petty hooligans, speculators and people, who do not work anywhere and who live by means of sporadic earnings, the collecting and turning in of glass containers and scrap paper. As a rule, they rarely bring themselves to commit felonies. But, since it is easy to identify them, precisely they attract the main forces of the public and the militia. A tactical error, in our opinion, is thereby made. The emphasis should be placed on the prevention first of all of concealed parasitism, which is the social base of sorts of crime. Meanwhile, according to the data of our study, only 1 representative of this group in 10 was in the purview of the organs of the militia and the public before committing a crime.

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SOCIOLOGICAL SERVICE

SOCIAL CONTROL OF THE LABOR COLLECTIVE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 83 (signed to press 20 Jul 83) pp 140-142

[Article by Vladimir Aleksandrovich Skripov: "On the Improvement of the Social Control of the Labor Collective"]

[Text] Let us briefly recall the history of the introduction of professional sociological services at enterprises. According to the skills handbook of 1973 the role of the plant sociologist was confined to research and advisory functions [1]. So far there is no model statute on the sociological service, in practice it most often becomes an appendage of the service for the scientific organization of labor (which has still not been included everywhere in the organizational structure of the enterprise).

Social planning, perhaps, is the only form of sociological work, which has acquired the formal "rights of citizenship." But here, too, not everything is all right. First, it appeared before its goal standard base began to be elaborated. Second, social planning so far has been poorly coordinated with technical and economic planning, which contributed to its change into a kind of "ostentatious activity" [2], which was "farmed out" to plant sociologists. As a result the presence of a sociological service not only does not ensure a high quality of social planning, but even worsens the situation, since the appearance of sociologists at the enterprise becomes a reason for the evasion of this work by staff members of other subdivisions.

In the arisen situation various kinds of wishes and appeals, which find expression both in the complaining of exceptionally unfavorable external circumstances (the demands "to increase the status," "to equalize in rights" social planning with other types of planning and so forth) and in the moralizing about the need "to prove oneself," notwithstanding anything, are being heard [3].

In our opinion, a comprehensive program of actions, which is designed for the future, and the participation of all units of management in its implementation are necessary. The organization of professional sociological work should be regarded as a special aspect of the broad and complicated problem of the reorganization of

V. A. Skripov is a plant sociologist. He has published in our journal the article "The Sociological Service in the Organizational Structure of the Enterprise" (No 2, 1982).

the entire system of management at the enterprise. In posing such a task, we should have a clear idea of the pluses and minuses of the established system of social control. Industrial sociology has already taken the first steps in the construction of a diagram of the social functions of the enterprise [4-7], but in practice these models have found embodiment only in the methods of social planning, while the content of the operational work on social control is being ignored.

The need has arisen for the elaboration of a uniform standard document (a statute or standard), in which the goals and the content of social control at the enterprise would be revealed. It should include: 1) a general clause which specifies the purpose of the given document; 2) a description of the future, current and operational level of social control; 3) a description of the content of the goal subsystems of social control with the revelation of their tasks, a characterization of the objects and subjects of control, the available management resources and basic information links, as well as the activity at the stages of planning, operational management and monitoring; 4) provisions and job instructions, which regulate the content of the activity, the rights and duties of plant sociologists and workers, the functional duties of whom require professional sociological knowledge.

A series of methods, which is aimed at the support of large-scale goal programs and the performance of the operational procedures of social control (the evaluation of the social consequences of the technical policy of the enterprise, the business qualities of the personnel, the effectiveness of propaganda activity and so forth), should become the logical continuation of the document. The sociological centers of the country have experience in elaborations of this sort. In essence, the task is merely, after generalizing, to turn them into official model documents which have been sanctioned by the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the ministries.¹ A "Statute on Sociological Work at the Enterprise," which contains a general organizational diagram of the required reorganizations in the system of management, would make it possible to outline the "blank spots" in the problems of social control and to direct the attention of industrial sociologists to the settlement of these questions. Let us take for an example the distribution of public consumption funds. Here the problem of the elaboration of the optimum model of the structure of social needs (material and spiritual) and the creation of a system of standards, information and algorithms of the making of decisions, which ensure the efficient calculation of the financial estimates for the backing of the plans of social development under the conditions of limited resources, is urgent.

Another direction is the assurance of a uniform, coordinated policy in the area of social development. First of all, this is the determination of capacious and sound standards, which due to the specific nature of the objects of social control it is not always possible to express by a number or a descriptive reference. Work of this sort is being performed, which has found reflection, in particular, in the materials of the applied science conference in Perm [10].

However, organizational shortcomings, which are hindering the introduction of social methods in management, are already visible today. This is first of all

1. As an example let us cite, in particular, the method, which ensures the involvement of engineering and technical personnel in the process of social planning [8], and the method on the organization of personnel work at the enterprise [9].

departmental isolation. A large number of main administrations of the same ministry (for example, the technical administration, the administrations for personnel and educational institutions, labor and wages, capital construction, the center for the scientific organization of labor and so on) frequently plan indicators for the enterprises independently of each other. Thus, the departmental delimitation of management structures is reproduced at the level of the enterprise. For example, along with the plan of social development there exist a large number of other plans (for example, on work with personnel), the content of which is determined only by the interests of management itself. In short, the need has arisen for the creation at the level of sectors of coordinating organs which unite the activity of sectorial departments when settling economic questions.

In our opinion, the content of the promotion and popularization of sociological knowledge should be revised. It seems that today it is important to show the sociologically minded directors, chief engineers, shop chiefs, foremen, economists, process engineers and personnel workers. It is necessary to tell more frequently about precisely how they settle questions of social control and to what social consequences ill-considered, unbalanced decisions lead. Literature, which popularizes the bases of sociological knowledge and is meant for shop chiefs, foremen, labor economists, personnel workers and so forth, is required. This literature should be published in the form of a series of booklets, it should be easily understood and absorbing. It is desirable that people who know production well, both scholars and experienced plant sociologists would be among the authors of the series.

We have already spoken about our understanding of the place and role of plant sociologists in the structure of the management of an enterprise [11]. I would like to make several additional remarks and specifications on this matter.

Not without reason do some specialists believe that the dispersal of staffs of sociologists among subdivisions can lead to negative consequences. The opponents in principle deny the specialization of plant sociologists, which ostensibly is at variance with the present trend of scientific and technical progress toward integration. In our opinion, in the proposed arrangement integration is not at all denied: it is envisaged by the methods coordinating status of "adviser on social questions." The main thing is for the integration of social control to occur on the appropriate level. The version of the sociological service in the form of a research and advisory institution of the academy type is integration in a bare spot, in the absence of operational work at the enterprise.

We believe that not only those, who are officially in this position, should be regarded as professional sociologists. For various reasons the engineers for the scientific organization of labor, inspectors for work with personnel and so on perform these functions at many enterprises. The task is not to invent new subdivisions and positions (if there is no extreme need for this), but to fill them with a new content. In this sense the role of those, whom today we call sociologists, is historically temporary. In principle the people who, when in various subdivisions and different positions, in practice perform the functions of social control, but do this in an unskilled, unprofessional manner, without realizing fully the entire set of social influences being brought to bear, should play this role.

As to the fears with respect to the "dilution" of plant sociology, we fully share them. And this article was written in part in order to show: the increase of the

effectiveness of sociological personnel at an enterprise is impossible without the settlement of a large number of organizational questions. Of course, it is impossible to limit oneself to a one-sided directive on the change of the status of the plant sociologists. A stage-by-stage reorganization, particularly the transfer of sociologists from the service for the scientific organization of labor to the personnel service, is necessary. Why do we believe this?

The basic flows of social information are traditionally concentrated in the personnel division: in the process of discussions with those coming to work, those being dismissed and so on it is possible here to obtain in practice any data. Moreover, the activity of the personnel division is of an operational nature, which ensures direct involvement in the management process. As a result the widespread misconception that industrial sociology is a section of the scientific organization of labor, would be overcome.

Thus, the personnel service creates the necessary organizational prerequisites (information, the form of work, a precedent for contact with people and so on) for the activity of plant sociologists. Incidentally, such a version has already been examined in the literature [12].

The suggestions made in this article, of course, cannot cover all the measures on the implementation of the goal program of the increase of the efficiency of social control at enterprises. The goal of the article is to actualize the idea of comprehensiveness in the accomplishment of this task.

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STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION IN GEORGIA

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 83 (signed to press 20 Jul 83) p 146

[Article by N. M. Ishchenko: "On the Basis of Public Opinion"]

[Text] The work on the systematic study of public opinion in Georgia was rated positively at the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Now in the party organizations of the republic advanced know-how is being introduced extensively and the training of party personnel is being carried. The Abkhaz Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia with the participation of a number of scientific institutions held a seminar conference on this question. The meeting was opened by Secretary of the Oblast Committee R. M. Butba, who noted the important role of sociological studies of public opinion in the increase of the effectiveness of party work. Doctor of Philosophical Sciences T. M. Dzhabarli, deputy chief of the Center for the Study, Formation and Forecasting of Public Opinion attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, delivered a report on the tasks of the services for the recording of public opinion, which are being created under the auspices of the party committees of Georgia. He reported that similar seminar conferences had already been held in Kutaisi, Batumi, Rustavi and other cities of the republic, a republic conference in Tbilisi is being prepared for. The goal of these measures is to promote the formation of an adjusted system of sociological studies and the improvement of the practice of their organization by party committees. The main thing is that the subdivisions for the study of public opinion would be set up not formally, but for specific matters and would be of appreciable practical use. The materials being published in the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, the speaker said, can provide substantial assistance. A serious approach to the study and recording of public opinion will promote the making of correct management decisions and the further democratization of the process of management and the involvement of broad masses of the working people in it.

Chief of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Abkhaz Oblast Party Committee V. D. Avidzba; Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Sh. V. Misabishvili, head of the Chair of Philosophy of Abkhaz University; Candidate of Historical Sciences G. P. Lezhava, senior scientific associate of the Scientific Research Institute of Language, Literature and History imeni D. I. Gulia of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences; T. A. Chochiya and G. B. Baramiya, chiefs of the Propaganda and Agitation Departments of the Sukhumi and Tkvarcheli City Party Committees; Second Secretary of the Galskiy Rayon Party Committee M. A. Gegechkori; N. K. Okudzhava, secretary of the council for the study of public opinion attached to the Gudautskiy

Rayon Party Committee, and others took part in the discussion which took place. They shared the experience of conducting studies and stated their opinions on the forms and methods of their organization and the provision of assistance to applied sociologists. Surveys of the population, interviews, the analysis of letters of the working people, personal observations and meetings with the population, including without an agenda which has been planned in advance, are being included more and more in the practice of the work of party committees. Sociological studies helped, for example, the Sukhumi City Party Committee to identify the negative trends in the training and the attachment to a works of staffs of young construction workers and to take steps on the improvement of the educational work with them.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor F. R. Filippov, deputy editor in chief of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, delivered the report "The Social Development of Soviet Society and Questions of the Study of Public Opinion." A round table discussion of the conference participants on the problems of the improvement of the studies of public opinion was held. A detailed report on the seminar conference was published in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ABKHAZIYA.

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OPEN, CLOSED QUESTIONS AND PURPOSE OF INTERVIEWER

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 83 (signed to press 20 Jul 83) pp 162-167

[Article by Gevork Aramovich Pogosyan, junior scientific associate of the Laboratory of Applied Sociological Studies of the Institute of Philosophy and Law of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences: "The Form of the Question and the Purpose of the Researcher"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in italics in source]

[Text] In nearly all textbooks, handbooks and procedural manuals the discussion of the use of closed and open questions in a sociological study reduces to the comparison of their merits and drawbacks and the explanation of the "pros" and "cons." The problem is examined, as a rule, only on the level of the analysis of the advantages of one form or another. However, in our opinion, one should examine what the open and closed questions are and what their purpose and the limits of effective application are. It is wrong to give preference to some one type of question, since they both perform different functions, are acceptable in different research situations and in their own way are necessary subject to the goals and tasks of the study.

Frequently the discussion of the effectiveness of the form of the question is conducted even without regard for the specific nature of the research method within the framework of which they are being used [1]. This can lead to incorrect conclusions, since it is not at all immaterial whether the open and closed questions, which are used in the interview or the written questionnaire, are being compared. In the former case the influence of the interviewer is more obvious, which should be taken into account without fail.

Moving on to a statement of the basic content of the article, let us emphasize: in this case not the effectiveness of the closed and open questions as a whole, their merits and drawbacks, but how they "work" under the conditions of a standardized interview, interests us. Here we will devote particular attention to the analysis of the influence of the aims of the interviewer on the opinions of the people being surveyed.

A preliminary study of the value notions of the interviewers and an ex post facto experiment on the basis of the obtained materials of the interviews were conducted

G. A. Pogosyan published in our journal the article "The Interviewer as a Source of Expert Information" (No 4, 1981).

for the purpose of studying the structure of the relations between: a) the form of the question under the conditions of the standardized interview, b) the values and sex of the respondents and c) the values and sex of the interviewer. Both experiments were conducted in 1978-1979 by staff members of the Institute of Philosophy and Law of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences within the framework of the sociological study of the value orientations and behavior in the sphere of labor of more than 4,000 workers of 11 industrial enterprises of Yerevan. The study was conducted by the standardized interview method with the enlistment of 37 interviewers. For the analysis of the aims we selected the materials of 20 interviewers, each of whom conducted not less than 100 interviews. All the interviewers (6 girls and 14 boys) are students of the Philosophy Department of Yerevan State University.

The gathered information was divided into two subarrays: 1) the interviews conducted by males (70 percent of the sample) and 2) the interviews conducted by females (respectively 30 percent). The compositions of those surveyed in both subarrays as a whole were uniform with respect to the social and occupational skills characteristics; the individual deviations did not exceed the sampling error--5 percent. Only the characteristics with respect to sex were an exception--in the first subarray 46.5 percent are men and 53.5 percent a women, in the second--respectively 56.5 and 43.5 percent.

As we see, the difference is significant--10 percent. However, we deliberately rejected the procedure of equalizing the compositions of the respondents in the subarrays being compared (which is usually done in such situations) on the basis of the following considerations. First of all the task of studying the influence of the interviewer AS A WHOLE [in boldface] was posed; hence, the study of the feature of the active selection by the interviewer of his "own" respondents was also included here. The point is that depending on the conditions existing at one enterprise or another the technique of selection was twofold: either the interviewer received the opportunity at his own discretion to select respondents, who work in a specific section of the shop, or they brought workers for interviewing in small groups to several interviewers, who were in a room which was specially set aside. In both cases relative freedom of mutual choice was granted to both parties. As a result there were more women in the group of those surveyed by male interviewers and, on the contrary, there were more men among those interviewed by women. Moreover, by means of a comparative analysis of the obtained data we intended to find opportunities to take into account the existing biases in the compositions.

The distributions of the responses of those surveyed to the open and closed questions on values are cited below. The closed question was actually a scale of order: the interviewer gave the respondent 15 cards, on each of which the detailed content of the value was written, and suggested that he arrange them in the order of importance (rank them). Here the interview shuffled the cards each time before presenting them.

As is evident from Table 1, in case of the responses to the open questions the ranks of only three values--"family (children)," "health" and "love"--coincide in both subarrays. The places of all the remaining 11 values differ by not less than two orders. The differences in the ranking of values in case of the responses to the closed question were minimal: only five values do not coincide within the range of one or two ranks ("material security," "interesting job," "quiet life," "personal freedom," "amusements"). As should have been expected, the consistency

of the responses to the closed question was considerably greater. The Spearman rank correlation coefficient, which illustrates the consistency between the distribution of the responses in SA I and SA II,¹ in case of the closed question is equal to $R=0.835$, while in case of the open question it is equal to $R=0.833$ ² (both coefficients are significant for $\alpha=0.001$. The difference between the obtained values of the coefficients is statistically significant for $\alpha=0.25$ in accordance with the Student t-criterion [2]).

Table 1

Distribution of Value Orientations of Respondents Subject to the Sex of the Interviewers and the Form of the Question, Rank*

Rank	Open question		Closed question	
	Subarray of male interviewers (SA I)	Subarray of female interviewers (SA II)	Subarray of male interviewers (SA I)	Subarray of female interviewers (SA II)
I	Family (children)	Family (children)	Health	Health
II	Health	Health	Family	Family
III	Moral values	Material security	Clear conscience	Clear conscience
IV	Good job	Happiness	Material security	Interesting job
V	Peace	Moral values	Interesting job	Material security
VI	Material security	Good job	Social order	Social order
VII	Good life	Studies	Socially useful activity	Socially useful activity
VIII	Studies	Good life	Spiritual development	Spiritual development
IX	Happiness	Peace	Public recognition	Public recognition
X	Love	Love	Quiet life	Personal freedom
XI	Good collective	My life	Personal freedom	Amusements
XII	Respect	Housing	Amusements	Quiet life
XIII	My life	Good collective	Social activeness	Social activeness
XIV	Housing	Respect	High status in society	High status in society
XV	--	--	Convenient job	Convenient job

*The wordings of the values are cited in shortened form.

1. Hereinafter the subarray of interviews, which were conducted by male interviewers, will be designated as SA I, while the subarray of interviews, which were conducted by female interviewers, will be designated as SA II.
2. The ranking of the values of the closed question was made by the calculation of the average ranks, while the ranking of the values of the open question was made on the basis of the obtained frequency distributions.

Of course, there also could not be a complete coincidence of the responses in SA I and SA II, since, as we noted earlier, the compositions of those surveyed here are different. However, we have to explain two circumstances: whether all the differences in the distribution of the values, which were obtained when using the open question in SA I and SA II, are connected only with the bias in the compositions of the respondents and to what extent these differences are due to the influence of the interviewers. Of course, the influence of the latter is also not ruled out when using the closed question, but we did not detect any clear and indisputable traces of such influence. Therefore all the subsequent analysis concerns the information obtained by means of open questions, and all the drawn conclusions apply precisely to the indicated form.

Let us examine first the distribution of values subject to the sex of those surveyed (Table 2). Let us recall that women dominated numerically in SA I, while men dominated in SA II. By comparing the data of SA I with the distribution of values among female respondents, on the one hand, and the data of SA II with the distribution among male respondents, it is possible to detect much in common (Tables 1, 2). We are not specially dwelling in detail on such a comparison, since the conclusion in this case is quite obvious: the differences in the distributions in many ways are due to the presence in SA I and SA II of a bias with respect to sex. Another thing merits attention--the differences which it is difficult to explain by this reason. Let us direct attention, for example, to the value "happiness" in the subarray of interviews which were conducted by women (SA II). Among the other values it holds the quite high fourth place (in SA I--only ninth place). It would be wrong to connect this fact with the bias in the compositions of the subarrays, for if we take all the male respondents (their share predominates in SA II), the mentioned value is in only eighth place. In exactly the same way it is impossible to explain the sixth rank of "material security" in SA I by the peculiarity of this array, that is, by the predominance in it of the share of women, since, in the opinion of all the surveyed female representatives, this value is in ninth place (see Table 2).

Table 2

Distribution of Value Orientations of Respondents Subject to Sex,
Rank (Open Question)

Rank	Men	Women
I	Family (children)	Family (children)
II	Health	Health
III	Material security	Moral values
IV	Moral values	Studies
V	Good job	Good job
VI	Peace	Happiness
VII	Good life	Peace
VIII	Happiness	Love
IX	Studies	Material security
X	Good collective	Good life
XI	My life	Good collective
XII	Love	My life
XIII	Housing	Housing
XIV	Respect	Respect

In our opinion, such differences stem from the influence of the interviewers. The analysis of their value orientations, which were identified directly before the start of the main study, which was accomplished by means of a questionnaire in which, in particular, there was an open question on vitally important values, leads to such a conclusion. It was then offered to the respondents who are workers of the enterprises.

As the data of Table 3 attest, the systems of value orientations of the male interviewers and the female interviewers differ both in content and in structure. The former named, for example, "moral values" and "good life," which the women do not have, while they in turn named "studies" and "my life," which men do not have.

Table 3

Distribution of Value Orientations of Interviewers Subject to Sex,
Rank (Open Question)

Men		Women	
Values	Rank	Values	Rank
Family	1	Family	1
Health	2.5	Happiness	2
Material security	2.5	Health	3
Moral values	6	Studies	4
Peace	6	Peace	6.5
Respect	6	Material security	6.5
Good life	6	My life	6.5
Happiness	6	Respect	6.5

Now let us compare the systems of values of the interviewers and the respondents. First of all the indisputable preference (regardless of the form of the question) of the values "family" and "health" both among the respondents and among the interviewers of both sexes is conspicuous. Obviously, these values are of a universally important nature. As to the value "happiness," here, in our opinion, the influence of the interviewer appeared most vividly. Among the female interviewers "happiness" is in second place, while among those whom they surveyed it is in fourth place, while among all the male respondents and all the female respondents this value holds respectively only eighth and sixth place (Table 2). The position of the value "material security" in SA I can also be explained by the influence of the interviewers, although in this case it is less pronounced.

Thus, a relationship exists between the sex of those surveyed and their values, on the one hand, and the sex and values of the interviewers, on the other. Here let us recall that it is a question of the responses which were obtained when using the open question. We were able to establish the fact of an influence of the aims of the interviewers on the opinion of those being surveyed and to determine that it is to a certain extent of a selective nature. The "effect" of the interviewer comes through most strongly when they attach paramount importance to one value or another.

The materials of the study also make it possible to assert that the influence of the aims of the female interviewers is expressed if not more strongly, then at least more clearly. In short, much research work still lies ahead in the matter

of studying the optimum combination of the sociodemographic characteristics of the composition of interviewers for a specific group of those being surveyed. And here there are a large number of interesting problems which await their solution.

As is known, the influence of the interviewer on the opinions of those being surveyed can be realized by various means: in the form of direct prompting, by means of an example in the situation when the respondent is having difficulty or in the process of recording the response. It is also possible to assume that the respondents take into account the personal qualities of the interviewer, for example, men in contact with female interviewers devise the tactics of their responses in a different way than in the discussion with male interviewers. In turn the interviewers also behave differently subject to the sex of the respondent. In addition to his own value orientations the interviewer, as a rule, has quite definite ideas about the views of men and women, which also governs the nature of the influence brought to bear by him. Consequently, in the interview situation both parties (perhaps, to a different degree) influence each other, owing to which an opinion, which is usually attributed exclusively to the respondent, FORMS. Meanwhile, as we have attempted to show, the system of values of the interviewer is as if superimposed on the system of values of the latter, changing it. The final result, thus, is the superposition of the systems of values of the interviewer and the respondent. Here sex, age and, apparently, a large number of other factors are of great importance, although the person being surveyed is himself the main source of the obtained information.

With respect to the form of the question our study showed that it is possible to speak about the presence of a special "effect" of the interviewer in case of the use of the open question. In this connection THE PROBLEM OF A DIFFERENT APPROACH TO THE ANALYSIS OF THE INFORMATION, which was obtained by means of the closed and open questions, arises. Whereas in the former case the responses can be analyzed on the level of a theoretical generalization of the direct data of the interview, in the latter, and first of all when it is a question of the opinions, evaluations and aims of the respondents, a higher theoretical level of the analysis, WHICH INCLUDES THE EXAMINATION OF THE AIMS OF THE INTERVIEWERS, is required. Such an approach ensues from the specific nature of the subject-object relation in the sociological study, and particularly in the interview as a relation of CONTACT.

Sociological practice shows that in spite of the drawbacks of open questions, which have been repeatedly noted in the literature, as in the past they are being used extensively. As a result of a special study of the effectiveness of the open and closed questions about the value orientations of those being surveyed, which were used during interviewing (within a single sample), we came to a conclusion which it is possible to briefly formulate in the following manner. The open and closed questions of this type are aimed at different levels of the everyday consciousness of the respondent [3]. The closed question as a result of the design and the rigid posing of the versions of the responses in fact reveals not the personal positions of the respondent, but his attitude toward generally accepted standards, norms or stereotypes, which are prevalent, in the opinion of the sociologists, in the given social environment [4]. A similar question, which has been posed in the open form, actualizes a different level of consciousness. Most often it is possible to determine by means of an open question about opinions, aims or values the needs, goals and attitudes, which either characterize the social and mental state of the person being surveyed or stem from this state.

In conclusion I would like to dwell on another thing. As was noted earlier, the study of the possibilities of comparing data which were obtained in not entirely identical samples was among the tasks posed in the study. In spite of the differences with respect to sex in the compositions of the two subarrays of those surveyed, we were nevertheless able to make a comparison of the responses to the open question owing to the evaluation in each specific case of the degree of influence of the biased characteristics of the subarrays on the attribute being studied. The traditional requirement of the identity of the compositions of the samples being compared with respect to their basic sociodemographic characteristics significantly facilitates the procedure of comparison, but is not basic. When the possibility of taking into account the influence of the disproportions existing in the sample groups being compared exists, the complete identity of the latter becomes optional.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 83 (signed to press 20 Jul 83) pp 193-196

[Letters to the editor]

[Text] Dear editorial board! I read with some surprise the article of A. I. Kravchenko "Experimental Studies of Labor in the 1920's" (No 4, 1982). In what does the editorial board see the topicality and necessity of publications of this sort?

The activity of A. K. Gastev, one of the first Soviet researchers of labor, to all appearances merits the attention of historians. But from what point of view? How legitimate it is to regard A. K. Gastev as a sociologist? Is it possible to qualify his views as achievements of scientific thought in the area of labor sociology, which are significant for that time, and especially to believe that these views are of interest for the scientific community today? In my opinion, it would be a mistake to hold such an opinion.

The point is that the experimental studies of labor (primarily physical labor), which, as is obvious from the article, A. K. Gastev engaged in, still do not make it possible to regard him as one of the pioneers in the area of labor sociology. In the same way as Taylor. On the one hand, the special direction of scientific research, which they now call labor sociology, did not yet exist in the 1920's. On the other, neither Gastev nor especially Taylor asked themselves theoretical problems: all their activity was subordinate to a single task, which had an especially practical orientation--to improve the organization of labor for the purpose of increasing its productivity. For this they began to study the labor process scientifically for the first time in history. Hence also labor sociology proper emerged as a result. However, the connection between the experimental studies of labor for the purpose of its intensification and the origin of labor sociology (a discipline which is simultaneously both theoretical and empirical) was not of a direct, cause-effect nature. To show the mediated, historical cultural nature of this connection--that is what was required of the author of the article under the heading "From the History of Sociological Thought" and what could have justified the retrospective analysis of Taylorism. It was important to show not that Gastev and Taylor were at the source of modern sociological studies of labor, but that a specific direction in such studies (the technological functionalist direction) is connected with their names. It was important to show how and why the practical need to intensify labor and to increase its productivity by the rationalization of

labor actions gave life to the theoretical scientific research which, as strange as it is, cast doubt on the very rationality of such rationalization. It seems that only in case of such an approach can the views of Taylor and Gastev still be of interest for the modern sociologist.

The article of A. I. Kravchenko, unfortunately, was written from a different standpoint. Precisely for this reason it errs toward descriptiveness and is overburdened with excessive factual material and insignificant quotations. In it there are also kinds of assumptions, with which it is difficult to agree from a methodological point of view. Thus, the author writes: "The thesis of the priority of the material conditions of labor and the forms of its organization over the psychological factors of labor activity, which was one of the basic theoretical principles in the work of the Central Institute of Labor, is also a Marxist reading of the system of Taylor" (p 156). But Taylor himself did not place the psychological factors of labor activity above the organizational forms of labor and its material conditions. Does this mean that Taylor was a "materialist"? Of course not. What is the distinction of the Marxist approach to the study of the labor process from Taylor's approach to it, what is the difference between the sociology of labor and the organization of labor? A specific answer is not given in the article to all these questions.

It is therefore not surprising that the author of the article is forced to reproduce in an uncritical manner the contradictions which were characteristic of the views of A. K. Gastev. Thus, on p 155 Kravchenko writes that Gastev "based himself on the thesis of Marx that man is the main element of productive forces--he acts as the subject of organizational transformations at the works." On p 156, however, we read: "In 1921 in the program article 'Our Tasks' A. K. Gastev proclaimed the basic methodological principles of his approach: 1) equipment and the logic of the movement of technology are the decisive factor of the development of the organization of labor and production...." It would be possible to continue the examples.

In conclusion there is a question to the editorial board itself of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA: How does it see the publications under the heading "From the History of Sociological Thought"?

Yaroslavl

A. I. Sukhov

Dear editorial board! The basic thesis of A. I. Sukhov, which was advanced by him in his letter, is that it is impossible to regard A. K. Gastev as a sociologist and in general it is illegitimate to speak about labor sociology in the 1920's. Let us see how correct such a position is.

As is known, the theoretical and methodological foundations of labor sociology were laid by the classics of Marxism-Leninism long before the appearance of the works of A. Gastev. They were subsequently clarified and extended. In the 1920's scientific institutions, which specially study questions of labor, were founded by the Soviet Government; the corresponding journals were published, scientific schools and chairs emerged. Labor sociology passed through the intensive period of its institutionalization.

This process was revived with new force, at a higher qualitative level in the early 1960's. However, when studying the social problems of labor, specialists

frequently passed over the works of Gastev, Kerzhentsev, Zhuravskiy and a number of other Soviet scholars of the 1920's, which created the impression that labor sociology prior to the middle of the 20th century was being developed only in the West. This is utterly incorrect. The goal of my article was also to show the sociological importance of the ideas of Gastev.

Furthermore, my opponent believes that in the 1920's "the special direction of scientific research, which they now call labor sociology, did not yet exist." A typical methodological error: to judge the past only from the point of view of the achievements of the present. It is one thing if they judge undeveloped theories from the point of view of more mature scientific ideas only in order to show the drawbacks of the former. But it is a completely different matter if a formed scientific theory is used for the identification among predecessors of the most fruitful, rational elements. Unfortunately, A. I. Sukhov is inclined to adhere rather to the former approach. Of course, Gastev did not have the kind of conceptual and procedural system, which exists in modern sociology. But one should judge predecessors, apparently, not from what they did not do as compared with their followers, but on the basis of how far they advanced as compared with the past. And here the ideas of Gastev were an unquestionable step forward.

In my opinion, Sukhov makes the mistake which in logic is called the substitution of a thesis. In my article it is a question not of labor sociology, but of the sociology of the organization of labor. The latter has a different subject and object of research, different methods of study. By its nature and scientific status it is rather an applied scientific discipline and at the same time a component of labor sociology. Sukhov is partly correct when speaking about the lack of elaboration of theoretical questions for Gastev, whose task consisted in another thing, namely the realization of the sociological principles of labor.

However, one must also not belittle the ideological and theoretical importance of the concept of Gastev. In particular, in the ideological situation of the 1920's, when different idealistic trends existed, the Marxist interpretation of bourgeois theories, including Taylorism, acquired enormous importance. It is strange that Sukhov doubts this. Taylor and Gastev are indiscriminately attached by him to the "technological functional" trend. Such a statement of the question does not take into account the concrete historical conditions. This aspect of the problem was covered in detail in my article, which Sukhov called unduly descriptive. I get the impression that more factual material should have been given.

Sukhov's accusation of the noncritical reproduction by me of the contradictions of Gastev is untenable. Both of my assumptions on pp 155 and 156 do not contradict each other, since they assert different things. Man for Gastev indeed acts as the main element of productive forces, the very technology of production, and not man, is already the decisive factor of the development of the organization of labor. For in the latter case it is a question of another component of the same productive forces--the means of production, which are improved on the basis of the progressive development of technology, and not the subjective aims of man.

A. I. Kravchenko

From the editorial board. The retrospective analysis of the creative heritage of Russian, Soviet and foreign sociologists, the mutual influence and struggle of

various trends, the transformation of ideas and approaches in the process of the development of sociological knowledge, the peculiarities of the set of tools and the practice of empirical studies of the past--such is the group of themes, at which the editorial board directs the attention of the active authors of the journal and all those who are engaged in the study of the history of sociological science. The editorial board attaches great importance to the heading "From the History of Sociological Thought," for without a knowledge of the past of one science or another there are no and can be no genuine professionalism and genuine sociological culture.

Dear editorial board! I read in your journal (No 4, 1982) the report that Brazilian sociologist Fernando Cardozo was elected the new president of the International Sociological Association. I would like to find out more about the creative scientific work and public activity of this scholar. What are his views on modern social development?

R. A. Kromf

The editorial board asked Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A. V. Shetopal, a well-known Soviet specialist on the sociology of Latin American countries, to respond to the question of the woman reader of the journal.

Fernando Enriques Cardozo was born in 1925. In 1947 he received a Master of Arts degree at the University of Dubuque, in 1952--a Master of Arts degree at the University of Minnesota (United States), in 1955--a Doctor of Philosophy degree at the University of Florida. Since 1953 he has taught at the University of Sao Paulo, as well as at the Institute of Industrial Sociology at the Sorbonne in Paris. Beginning in 1964 he participated in research projects of the UN Economic Commission for Latin America, and beginning in 1967 was deputy director of the Institute of Economic and Social Planning of the Economic Commission for Latin America in Santiago (Chile). He received the title of professor of sociology at the Sorbonne in 1967 and professor of political sciences at the University of Sao Paulo in 1968. Since 1969 he has headed the chair of political sciences at the University of Sao Paulo. Since 1978 he has been vice president of this university, the director and a member of the finance committee.

F. Cardozo is a specialist in the area of economic development and social planning. He is well known for regular publications in THE FINANCIAL TIMES and LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE. He has regularly given lectures at Stanford University (United States). He is the author of more than 100 works on the problems of Latin America. At the 9th World Sociological Congress he was the main speaker at the plenary meeting "The Theory, Models and Ideologies of Development."

The following basic works were written by F. Cardozo: "The Study of Uruguayan Society," "The Industrial Elite," "Industrial Enterprise in Latin America," "Industrial Development, the Structure of Employment and Social Stratification in Latin America" (1966), "The Entrepreneurial Elite in Latin America" (1967), "The Analysis of the Sociological Aspects of Economic Development" (1967), "Dependence, Development and Ideology" (1970), "Industrialization, Dependence and Power in Latin America" (1970), "The Brazilian Political Regime" (1972) and "Remarks on the State of Research of the Problems of Independence" (1972).

During the years of the scientific activity of F. Cardozo his views on the present state and the prospects of Latin American societies underwent a complex evolution. In the 1960's he placed great hopes on the industrialization of the countries of Latin America within the framework of private industrial enterprise with the support of foreign capital. Having advanced the theory of "rational enterprise," he became the head of the "industrial elite" school in Latin American sociology.¹

In the late 1960's F. Cardozo admitted that in Latin America the rationalization of the management of the industrial sector of the economy following the models of North American corporations was not leading to the overcoming of the overall backwardness and dependence of the states of the continent on foreign capital. By the middle of the 1970's the scholar had become one of the leaders of the national reformist wing of the supporters of the theories of "new dependence," who are counting on the development in the countries of Latin America of the state capitalist sector of the economy with the leading role of the nationalistically oriented state administrative elite.²

A critical attitude toward the methodological bases of bourgeois reformist sociology is now characteristic of many scholars of Latin America. It appears very clearly in the works of F. Cardozo. In his opinion, narrow functionalistic models of social development are capable of providing only an external description of some existing structures and preclude the transition to new, qualitatively different social formations.

It should be emphasized: today Latin American sociologists are turning more and more often to the traditions of Marxist social science. While delivering the report "The Theory of Dependence in Light of Marxism" at the symposium "New Directions in Marxist Theory" (the symposium was included in the program of the 10th World Sociological Congress on the initiative of Soviet sociologists), F. Cardozo noted that the Marxist method of explaining the process of social development and history can be very valuable even for scholars who are most critical minded with respect to Marxism.

However, the realization of the need to study the scientific approaches and methodological principles of Marxist sociology is occurring among Latin American sociologists under the conditions of the pointed ideological struggle, the overcoming of illusions, fixed habits and standards of thinking. Thus, F. Cardozo believes that Marxism does not take into account the relations between the ruling and the economically dependent countries and, consequently, social dynamics is viewed by Marxists within a uniform and closed system. All this does not conform to reality. Marxism-Leninism always attached the greatest importance to the struggle of the peoples of colonies and dependent countries in the common struggle of the working people against exploitation and for social progress.

1. See the critique of the works of F. Cardozo of this period: A. V. Shestopal, "Mirazhi El'dorado v XX veke" [Mirages of El Dorado in the 20th Century], Moscow, Mysl', 1974, Chapter IV, § 1--editor's note.
2. See the critique of the works of F. Cardozo of this period: A. V. Shestopal, "Levoradikal'naya sotsiologiya v Latinskoy Amerike" [Left Radical Sociology in Latin America], Moscow, Mysl', 1981, Chapter V, § 3--editor's note.

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PROBLEM COMMISSION MEETING ON SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 83 (signed to press 20 Jul 83) pp 199-201

[Article by Z. T. Golenkova and M. V. Pokrovskaya: "The Social Development of Socialist Society"]

[Text] The 9th meeting of the Problem Commission of Multilateral Cooperation of the Academies of Sciences of the Socialist Countries, "The Evolution of the Social Structure of Socialist Society. Social Planning and Forecasting," was held in Tallinn. Delegations of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR and the CSSR took part in it.

Vice President of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences A. A. Keyerna addressed a welcoming speech to those who had gathered. He told about the work experience of the sociologists of the Baltic Department of the Soviet Sociological Association and the tasks facing Estonian sociologists on the study of the problems of the social development of the republic.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. N. Ivanov, director of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, shared his views on the prospects of the activity of the Problem Commission. The speaker emphasized the need not to immerse oneself in relatively specific, local questions and to devote more attention to the urgent general problems of the social development of the socialist countries.

Professor K. Doktor (Poland), chairman of the Problem Commission, delivered a report on its work since the preceding meeting (Bucharest, 1981). He noted the large contribution of the commission to the solution of a number of methodological problems of Marxist-Leninist sociology and the importance of the gained research experience. During the discussion on the report the meeting participants discussed the results of the activity of the task forces, having rated positively in so doing the fact of the publication of the books "The Theory and Methodology of Social Forecasting and Their Role in the Development of Socialist Society" (Warsaw, 1983), "Youth and Higher Education" (Sofia, 1982), "The Family and Sociodemographic Development" (Sofia, 1982), as well as the preparation of the first volume of results of the analysis of empirical information in accordance with the project "The Convergence of the Working Class and the Intelligentsia in Socialist Society."

the following group of problems, the elaboration of which it is necessary to carry out during the next few years, was noted during the meeting: "Social Factors of the Increase of the Efficiency of Labor," "The Dynamics of the Social Structure of Socialist Society" and "The Indicators of the Social Development of Socialist Society."

At the symposium held within the framework of the meeting 12 reports, which were devoted to two themes: the theoretical and methodological problems of the construction and use of the system of indicators of the social development of socialist society and the questions of the construction of the latter for the characterization of social development in individual countries and spheres of the vital activity of society, were heard and discussed.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences E. R. Filippov examined the importance of the ideological and theoretical legacy of K. Marx in the study of the social structure of socialist society. The speaker emphasized the need for the recognition of the internal unity and interdependence of all the criteria of social differences under the conditions of socialism (although the relative significance of some of them may decrease, while that of others may increase) and noted that a qualitatively new stage of the convergence of the two forms of socialist property had begun with the changeover to the implementation of the USSR Food Program, which envisages fundamentally new forms of the interrelationship of the production activity of kolkhozes and state enterprises within the framework of regional agro-industrial associations.

The theme of the report of Doctor of Philosophical Sciences G. V. Osipov is the theoretical and methodological bases of the elaboration of the system of indicators of the social development of socialist society. G. V. Osipov devoted particular attention to the empirical and statistical means of constructing social indicators. The idea of the need to take the social impact into account when planning and introducing measures of scientific and technical progress was illustrated on the basis of the materials of the research project "The Convergence of the Working Class and the Intelligentsia in Socialist Society," the analysis of which showed that the processes of mechanization and automation in themselves do not lead to the elimination of difficult physical labor and, thus, to the convergence of the different skills groups of the working class and the intelligentsia with respect to the conditions and content of labor.

Having characterized social indicators as a specific type of social information, Professor H. Berger (GDR) formulated the most important tasks of Marxist-Leninist sociology at the present stage--the theoretical substantiation, analysis, planning, monitoring and preparation of information for the determination of the goals and principles of the social policy of the socialist state. Changes in the interaction of the economy and other spheres, the intensification of the integration of various areas of social life and so on are characteristic of the present period of the socioeconomic progress of society. All this is responsible for the specific demands on the system of social indicators.

Professor V. Dobriyanov (Bulgaria) emphasized in his statement that the system of indicators should be constructed on the basis of territorial models of a different level. In the opinion of the Bulgarian scholar, the inadequate elaboration of subjective indicators complicates the transition from the theoretical to the empirical model.

Professors I. Dragan and I. Iordachel (Romania) directed the attention of the symposium participants to two aspects of the problem: the creation of a system of social statistics and the possibility of the practicable introduction of social indicators. The urgency of the latter aspect is connected with the fact that the people who make management decisions are not always interested in changing the existing system of indicators.

The statement of Professor S. Norobsambu (Mongolia) was devoted to the influence of scientific and technical progress on the change of the class structure of present-day Mongolia. He reported that as a result of the development of productive forces the number of workers in the sectors of physical production of the country had increased by more than twofold. At the same time the proportion of unskilled and low skilled manual labor is still high. The speaker especially noted the rejuvenation of the composition of the working class of Mongolia--the average age of the representatives of this category is equal to 30 years.

The statement of Professor M. Laetsch (GDR), who dwelled on the problems of the construction and use of indicators of the social structure and social processes, evoked the great interest of those present. The scholar cited examples which illustrate the likelihood of a difference between the theoretical model and empirical data when studying the process of the convergence of the working class and the intelligentsia. In those instances when it is difficult to verify whether the theoretical indicators conform to the empirical indicators, the goal of the study should be changed, that is, the latter should be used for the characterization of the opposite process.

Comparative data on the material living conditions--the wage, the per capita income, housing conditions, the supply with durable goods--of the basic groups of workers of industry in Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, the USSR and the CSSR were cited in the report of Professor L. (Beskid) (Poland).

The statements of Professors T. Kolosi (Hungary) and M. Tucek (CSSR) were devoted to the results of the use of mathematical statistical models when analyzing the data of a study on the problems of the social structure. The basic goal of the study consisted in obtaining an answer to the question, what are the similarity and differences in the mechanisms of social differentiation and convergence in each of the six countries (Bulania, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, the USSR, the CSSR), where the studies were conducted. The general trend consists in the fact that in all the named countries the factors connected with the social division of labor are leading to the greatest differentiation. The sources of differentiation (the intellectual difficulty of labor, the position, the level of education, social activeness, the income of the family, housing conditions, the supply with durable goods, cultural activity and others) with some deviations coincide in all the countries, which attests to the existence of common laws. Moreover, additional factors of differentiation, which are characteristic only of one country or another, were identified during the study. The explanation of the latter, in the opinion of the speakers, should be sought in the specific nature of the historical and present socioeconomic development of these countries. On the basis of the experience of the studies conducted in various regions of the USSR, Doctors of Philosophical Sciences M. Kh. Titma and N. A. Aitov made a number of suggestions on the further development of the multilateral cooperation of sociologists of the socialist countries.

The 9th meeting of the Problem Commission of Multilateral Cooperation of the Academies of Sciences of the Socialist Countries was held in a warm friendly atmosphere. The plans of the activity of the commission and its task forces for the coming period were specified. It is planned to hold the next meeting in 1985 in Bulgaria.

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INTERNATIONAL STUDY OF QUALITY OF LIFE

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[Article by Ye. V. Foteyeva: "International Scientific Cooperation on the Study of the Quality of Life"]

[Text] An informal meeting of experts representing various scientific organizations of Hungary, India, Nigeria, New Zealand, Norway, Romania, the USSR and the United States, which was organized by the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, took place in Moscow on 10-13 May 1983. The results of an international study of the quality of life were discussed. R. R. Ayer, a member of the Sector of Social Sciences of UNESCO, also took part in the work of the meeting, which took place within the framework of the First Intermediate-Term Plan of UNESCO (1977-1983) on the study of the quality of life.

R. R. Ayer and V. N. Ivanov, director of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, addressed the welcoming speech to the meeting participants.

The following questions attracted particular attention of the experts: whether it is possible to define the category "the quality of life" in terms of individual perception; whether the quality of life of an entire society is the sum of the quality of life of the individual members; whether it is possible to divide this category into component concepts; what contribution the concept of "the quality of life" makes to the social analysis and understanding of social changes; in what way is one to establish the interrelationship between the objective and subjective indicators of the quality of life.

I. T. Levykin in the report "Methodological Problems of the Study of the Way of Life" stressed that in Soviet sociological science the way of life is regarded as a complex system which includes a broad group of economic, sociocultural, socio-psychological, demographic, political, ideological and other social relations which interact under specific historical conditions. The analysis of these relations requires the elaboration of a system of indicators which characterize the connection between the material and spiritual bases of the way of life and the activity of classes, social strata and individuals. The system of indicators should be based on measuring procedures and quantitative and qualitative parameters, as well as on the comparison of various elements of the structure of the way of life. An attempt

at the creation of such a system was made in the USSR within the framework of the program of the All-Union Study of the Way of Life (1980-1981).

C. Chamberlain (New Zealand) familiarized those who had gathered with some results of an empirical study, which was devoted to the comparison of the value systems and quality of life of two groups of the population, which represent different cultural communities of the country (people from Europe and aborigines).

The main theme of the report of E. (Hankis) (Hungary) is the interaction between socioeconomic factors, the way of life and value orientations. The speaker reported on the methodological study which was conducted by Hungarian scholars from 1977 to 1980. The obtained data, which are representative for the entire adult population of the country, were analyzed by means of various measuring tools and analytical methods. Having compared the value systems of the population of Hungary and the United States, (Hankis) drew the conclusion that under socialism and capitalism at the level of the individual not the set of values as such, but their structure and the degree of importance of individual elements are different. The speaker noted that at the present stage the main task of sociologists, who are studying questions of the quality of life, consists in the strengthening and development of international cooperation and the broadening of comparative studies.

(V. P. Diejomar) (Nigeria), having told about the difficulties with which he and his colleagues were faced with conducting a national study, expressed the hope that UNESCO would give support to developing countries in the gathering and processing of empirical material, as well as in the training of personnel for the conducting of such studies.

In the opinion of the meeting participants, the need has arisen to develop more specific methods of the evaluation of the quality of life in different cultural communities. The abstract concepts being used at present (for example, "general happiness") do not make it possible to perform a scientific analysis and to make international comparisons.

In conclusion the experts came to the unanimous opinion that the great amount of work, which was done during the fulfillment of the First Intermediate-Term Plan of UNESCO, attests to the considerable interest in the studies of the quality of life and confirms the readiness of different countries for international cooperation in this area.

The participants recognized as expedient the conducting under the aegis of UNESCO of a long-term international study of the way of life and the system of values in countries with different social systems and supported the broadening of multi-lateral consultations and the exchange of opinions and publications on these themes.

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NEWS ITEMS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 83 (signed to press 20 Jul 83) p 207

[Article]

[Text] An organizational meeting of the sociological community of Krasnodar Kray was held. The participants noted that more than 100 sociological studies, the results of which the Sochi, Slavyanskiy, Apershonsk, Novopokrovskiy, Temryuk, Pavlovskiy, Krylovskiy and several other city and rayon party committees use extensively, are conducted annually in the cities and rayons of the Kuban. Sociological services are working fruitly at the Krasnodar Cotton Combine and the Kraykolkhozstroy-ob'yedineniye. Many research projects have been implemented by scientists of the Kuban State University and the local agricultural institute. The organizing and procedural role of the Krasnodar Sector of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences in the study of the public opinion of inhabitants of the kray has increased. At the same time at the meeting it was noted that the sociological services of the kray for the present are still operating separately, the scientific and procedural level of developments does not always meet the present requirements, the conclusions and recommendations of researchers at times do not find practical use.

The decision on the creation of the Krasnodar Branch of the Northern Caucasus Department of the Soviet Sociological Association was adopted at the meeting. The bureau of the branch headed by A. F. Kiyanitsa, deputy chief of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Kray Committee of the CPSU, was elected. The meeting participants outlined specific measures on the increase of the effectiveness of sociological work and the provision of practical assistance to the party and soviet organs of the kray in the fulfillment of the decisions of the November (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the implementation of the USSR Food Program.

Secretary of the Kray Committee of the CPSU L. A. Solodukhin took part in the work of the meeting.

O. Ya. Kolesnichenko

The regular, seventh graduation of sociologists took place at the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism of the Dnepropetrovsk Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. In all since 1972 more than 400 people have undergone training at it. In all 106 sociologists work in the 20 sociological subdivisions of

the city, 16 of which operate at industrial enterprises. Nearly half of them are graduates of the evening university. A 120-hour course on the methodology and methods of sociological studies and a 40-hour course on social psychology are included in the program of instruction of the students. Those who have already taken part in studies, elaborate on their basis recommendations on the decrease of the turnover of personnel, the tightening up of labor discipline, the improvement of the organization of socialist competition and the improvement of the moral and psychological climate in the collective.

Every 2 years 60 people are admitted to the Sociology Department of the Evening Institute of Marxism-Leninism, 20-30 percent of them are staff members of the sociological subdivisions of industrial enterprises and higher educational institutions of the city, the remainder are workers of the economic and other services of industrial enterprises, managers of production collectives, instructors and staff members of higher educational institutions, scientific research and planning and design organizations. The majority of those who have graduated from the Sociology Department of the Evening University regularly take part in the conducting of surveys. A system of the study of public opinion, which encompasses more than 140 industrial enterprises, has been set up by the Public Institute of Sociological Studies attached to the city party committee.

V. A. Poltorak

The Central Section of Young Sociologists of the Soviet Sociological Association and the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School attached to the Komsomol Central Committee are holding in September 1983 readings of young scientists on the theme "The Place and Role of Sociological Studies in the Implementation of the Policy of the Party of the Strengthening of Conscious Discipline and Responsibility for the Results of Labor." The goal of the measure is to promote the stepping up of the scientific activeness of young social scientists and the increase of their ideological and theoretical training and professional skill. Scientific associates, graduate students, students and experienced sociologists (up to the age of 35) can participate in the readings.

E. F. Alekseyev

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VIOLENCE IN AMERICAN FAMILIES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 83 (signed to press 20 Jul 83) pp 213-216

[Review by N. V. Malyarova of book "Behind Closed Doors (Violence in the American Family)" by M. Straus, R. Gelles and S. Steinmetz, Anchor Books, New York, 1980, 301 pages]

[Text] Much has been written about the violence which has swept over all spheres of modern bourgeois society, especially in the most developed capitalist countries. American sociologists have also addressed this theme more than once. However, so far the family has been excluded by them from the group of problems connected with violence. Moreover, it has been traditionally regarded as a refuge from the cruelty of society, the only place where it is possible to find real peace and a sense of security. Many sociological studies of the family were conducted and continue to be conducted and conclusions about the role of the latter in society and about its future are being drawn from this standpoint. The authors of the work under review proceed from diametrically opposed views, asserting that the present family is an institution in which violence has become an everyday phenomenon. Americans are being exposed more and more to insults, beatings and even murders in their own homes by members of their own families (p 4).

The book was written on the basis of information which was gathered during an 8-year empirical study. In all 2,143 people--960 men and 1,183 women--were surveyed. Children from 3 to 17 years old lived with their parents in 1,146 families. The similarity of the results of the U.S. census with the characteristics of the sample enabled the authors to regard it as representative for the entire country and to carry out the corresponding conversion of the data which were gathered during the study.

The peculiarity of the work in question consists in the attempt to combine two approaches: the scientific approach (which found reflection in the analysis of various aspects of violence in the family and the explanation of its causes by means of empirical information) and the journalistic approach, which appeared vividly in the identification of the goal of the study--"to attract attention to the problem of the use of physical force by members of the family with respect to each other, so that people would finally doubt what is traditionally regarded as necessary, useful, inevitable or instinctive" (p 21). However, it is impossible to regard any of the indicated approaches to have been realized. It is difficult to agree with many methodological premises, as well as theoretical conclusions. First of all

the legitimacy of the very interpretation of the concept of violence, which, in the words of the authors, is "an action which is carried out with the intention or is perceived as the intention to cause physical pain or insult to another person" (p 20), raises doubt. Such a broad definition, which is in no way connected with the family and the peculiarities of its functioning and with the specific nature of family interrelations, is very abstract and vague, since actions over the range from a light slap to murder are included here.

The problem in question was studied on three levels: the use of force by spouses with respect to each other, by parents with respect to children and, finally, about the interrelations of brothers and sisters. (The latter aspect became a subject of study in practice for the first time.) According to the data of the study, acts of violence occur among 50-60 percent of all married couples of the United States (let us note, incidentally, that the legal registration of the marriage was not taken into account and couples living in the same house were considered a family), moreover, both the husband and the wife take part in them in 49 percent of the families. Nearly two-thirds of the parents at least once during the year when the survey was conducted resorted to the physical punishment of their children, while four out of five children from 3 to 17 years old hit their brothers or sisters. It is interesting that differences also exist in the frequency of the use of force among boys and girls, but they are not as significant as is usually customary to believe: 83 percent of the boys and 74 percent of the girls used force in the interrelations with other children in the family. On the basis of the obtained data the authors come to the conclusion that the extensive prevalence of some forms of violence or others in the family is due to the norms which exist in society and which support and approve of such behavior. For example, in the opinion of 31.3 percent of the wives and 24.6 percent of the husbands, jabs, slaps in the face and so on are entirely acceptable, natural and even necessary in family life. In the opinion of scientists, television and movies play a significant role in the promotion of such norms.

In attempting to explain the results of the study and the social reality which is reflected in them, the authors advance the idea of so-called social heredity. The analysis of the life of three generations attests: the representatives of each of them perceive violence as an ordinary phenomenon in those instances when the childhood of these people passed in families in which the cult of force was preached, in which cruelty reigned, in which physical punishment was regarded as a necessary element of rearing. Having established the fact that within a single family acts of violence, as a rule, are mutual, that is, the husband, the wife and the children resort to them, the authors come to the following conclusion: the model of behavior, in accordance with which the interrelations in the parental family are constructed, is then reproduced by the representatives of the younger generation and determines their actions when they themselves become spouses and parents.

Of course, it is difficult to overestimate the role of the family and the example of the father and mother. However, it is also illegitimate to absolutize this. The very semimedical nature of the term "social heredity," which the American researchers propose when explaining the violence which has swept over the family, restricts the tasks of the study of this problem and hinders the analysis of the real causes of the formed situation and its historical and social roots. In reality the authors are speaking out here from the position of pseudodeterminism, revealing the obvious influence on the views advanced by them of structural

functionalism, which is widespread in modern bourgeois science. The family in their interpretation is torn from the context of broad social relations and appears as a kind of organism, which from generation to generation reproduces various forms of violence and bears the lion's share of the responsibility for it. The stipulation that "there are instances when violence in the family is not due to social heredity, but the exceptions to the rules still do not eliminate the rules" (p 122) confirms once more the reluctance of the authors to deviate from the proposed scheme and to encroach upon an area which does not fit into their concept.

Abandoning the analysis of the historically governed causes of the phenomenon in question, the American sociologists attempt to trace the influence of such factors as racial affiliation, faith, income, education, age, occupation and so on. It turned out that age, income, partial employment, the lack of a job and, to a considerably smaller extent, faith, place of residence and racial affiliation correlate especially closely with the use of force in the family.

On the basis of these data the correct conclusion is drawn that it is impossible to combat violence by purely psychological methods. This is a very important, it can be said, atypical conclusion. The majority of modern American researchers are inclined to psychologize many phenomena of social life.

While setting forth the empirical material the authors repeatedly examine violence in the family through the prism of conflict and explain the use of physical force by the aspiration to resolve the conflict situation. According to the data of the study, the number of acts of violence among married couples, whose interrelations can be characterized as highly conflictive (the proportion of such couples comes to 43 percent), is 16-fold greater than in the other families. There is a noteworthy fact: of the five spheres of family life, in which conflicts between husband and wife arise especially frequently (money, children, housekeeping, social activity and amusement, sex), first place belongs to housekeeping.

In the book the theories of conflict and catharsis, which are now current in bourgeois science, are criticized, it is emphasized that it is impossible to apply them completely to the family. For example, according to the theory of catharsis, all people have innate aggressive tendencies, in connection with which it is necessary to teach a person to manifest his aggression in the least harmful form for his associates and himself (for example, verbally or by the transfer of irritation and anger to inanimate objects). However, the materials of the study show: there is a clearly expressed dependence between verbal aggression in the family and violence (pp 168-169). While justly criticizing the mentioned theories, the authors do not suggest in exchange their own concept, but simply establish the connection of violence with such factors as the number of children, the presence of stressful situations and the nature of decision making. It was found that in the family with two and more children the likelihood of the use of force by the parents with respect to a child and each other increases sharply, while the absence or a negligible number of stressful situations during the year for the husband and wife and a democratic style of guidance in the family, on the contrary, decrease this likelihood. For the reader, however, the mechanism of the influence of the indicated factors on the development of conflict remains unclear, it is not clear what the practicable means of decreasing the cases of violence consist in.

The last section of the book is devoted to suggestions, the implementation of which, in the opinion of the scholars, can lead if not to the solution, then to the

alleviation of the problem. The authors regard wives and children as the main "victims" of violence in the family. A convincing line of argument of this assertion is given in the book. One of the most effective forms of protection of the "victims," in the opinion of the researchers, is so-called shelters,¹ which are called upon to provide women and children with physical, economic and psychological support. The staff members of these institutions turn for advice to legal and marriage advice bureaus, assist women in seeking work, help to restore the lost sense of self-worth and so on. In the United States such "shelters" have been operating for a number of years now. In 1976 there were 6 of them, while in 1978 there were already 60, but this number is not enough--for there are millions who are subjected to violence on the part of relatives (p 226). Moreover, as the authors admit, when returning to the families, the women and children frequently are faced with even crueler treatment.

Another means of solving the problem is the organization of special groups, to which a mother can take her children for several hours. The scientists believe that there would be less violence against children, if mothers could be left without them for a while. However, the authors note the expensiveness of such services, many families are not able to take advantage of them.

In advancing suggestions, the authors understand that it is hardly possible to realize their recommendations under the conditions of a society, in which the problems of unemployment, poverty and health protection are pressing. And not by chance do the scientists come to the conclusion that first of all it is necessary to change the bases of the organization of life, society and the family (p 244). It is impossible not to agree with this assertion. Real social assistance to the family, women and children is possible only as a purposeful social policy of the state.

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1. In the book there is no precise description of the "shelters." But from the context it is clear that these are institutions, which are set up by various nongovernmental organizations or private people and at which a woman and child if necessary can live a while.

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INCREASE OF EFFECTIVENESS OF SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITY

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[Review by D. D. Raykova of book "Dinamika nauki" [The Dynamics of Science] by P. B. Shelishch, Nauka, Leningrad, 1981, 144 pages]

[Text] The formation of the sociophilosophical concept of scientific activity, the specific nature of the research process, the dynamics of scientific association and the changes of the subject areas of science--such is the group of problems which are examined in the monograph of P. B. Shelishch. For the sociologist the author's analysis of the social factors of the increase of the effectiveness of scientific activity is of the greatest interest. In particular, Shelishch introduces the concept "density of the research potential" and advances the hypothesis of the subject and time space of this characteristic. Being an invariant, the density of the research potential ensures the coordination of the dynamics of scientific association with the dynamics of the subject content of scientific activity.

What are the nature and direction of the orientation of scholars in the occupational sphere? The author links the settlement of this question with the principle of "equal motivation," which regulates the distribution of scientists among the research areas. However, the effectiveness of science also depends on the internal self-regulation of occupational activity. The comprehensive centralized management of research developments and the occupational structure of scientists, as Shelishch convincingly shows, acquires decisive importance.

The author devotes considerable attention to the analysis of the formation and development of scientific trends. The distinction of the disciplinary structure, within the framework of which the professional reproduction of scholars, the selection of new knowledge, the monitoring and evaluation of scientific activity are carried out, and the structure of the front of knowledge as a set of research areas--scientific trends--is of particular interest (pp 41-45). The laws of the formation of the latter so far have not become a subject of special sociological-social science study, although this question is important not only in the theoretical, but also the scientific organizational respect.

In filling this gap to a certain extent, Shelishch elaborates a scheme of the division of the development of new scientific trends into periods subject to the state of the subject area and the characteristics of scientific association. The subject scheme served for the author as the theoretical substantiation of the hypothesis,

according to which a scientific direction during its development reproduces the main stages and internal mechanisms of the formation of science as a whole and can be regarded on this level as an elementary object of the science of science. Such a statement of the question is very convincing. When studying the peculiarities of the formation of a scientific trend, the author also investigates the most important social factors which influence this process: the conditions and forms of the training of scientists for new trends, planning policy, the intensity of scientific communications and others.

The problem of the reproduction of scientists is examined in the book in connection with the dynamics of their age and occupational structure. In speaking about the need for the planned regulation of the age composition of scientists, Shelishch proposes to intensify considerably the transfer of scientists of the older age groups to physical production, the systems of management and education (p 97). However, when examining this question, the author evaded the analysis of the really existing contradictions and the identification of their resolution and thereby unwittingly simplified the problem.

It should be taken into account that physical production, education and the system of management need a "reasonable equilibrium" of the age structure no less than science does, if only because the fates of scientific achievements are decided precisely here. Furthermore, it would be illegitimate to assume--but it is possible to interpret the arguments of the author in precisely this way--that the indicated factor offsets the shortcomings in the role structure of the scientific collective, in the criteria of the choice of the managers of research groups, in the use of young skilled scientific associates and so forth. In reality the matter is far from this way.

When examining the occupational structure, Shelishch shows that the inevitable extension of the division of scientific labor is connected with the intensification of occupational mobility, moreover, the rapid updating of the front of research is the motive force of this process. The suggestion of the author to carry out the training of scientists in various specialties in conformity with the data of studies of the occupational shifts of scientists is of considerable interest.

And a last remark. In a work like "Dinamika nauki" [The Dynamics of Science] it would have been useful to acquaint the reader with the most urgent problems of the development of science in the leading foreign countries. A timely critical analysis of foreign experience makes it possible to use promptly its positive aspects in the interests of the practice of the management of science in our country.

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SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM

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[Review by V. A. Yekhalo of book "Symbolic Interactionism: A Social Structural Version" by S. Stryker, Benjamin/Cummings, Menlo Park (California), 1980, 161 pages]

[Text] The book of Sheldon Stryker, a sociology instructor of Indiana University (United States), was published in a series which is devoted to the systematic description and critique of the basic theoretical approaches in modern American sociology. The task of Stryker, in his words, consisted in the description of the history of symbolic interactionism, in the analysis of the different opinions of contemporary American sociologists on the criteria of truth in sociological theory and in the presentation of those versions of the symbolic interactionist theoretical system, which conform to these criteria (p XIII).

In the opinion of Stryker, the moral philosophers of the 18th century, particularly D. Hume, A. Smith and A. Ferguson, who noted the limitedness of the view of man only as a part of nature and emphasized the need for the scientific study of everyday human experience, influenced the formation of symbolic interactionism. Precisely these philosophers were the initiators of the analysis of human behavior from a social point of view, since the determination of "social habit" for the understanding of human behavior is no less important than the determination of the role of biological instincts. They traced the connection of habit with custom, regarding the reason of man as a tool of adaptation to the environment. Their works served as the basis of the formation of the interactionist approach to the explanation of the nature of society and the individual.

Along with the study of the process of the formation of symbolic interactionism as a theory Stryker also studies the ideological functions of the latter, regarding them as a means of ideological struggle ("offense" and "defense"). It should be noted that the book does not contain a clear explanation of these ideological functions, giving rather their pluralistic interpretation. If it is admitted, the author writes, that symbolic interaction is regarded ideologically as a theory which supports liberal democracy, it will perform a "defensive" function, since it conforms to the nature of the political system (p 149). It will perform the function of "offense," if it does not conform to the nature of the political system. Thus, Stryker concludes, both ideological functions change along with the change of the social system.

In Stryker's version of symbolic interactionism the sociological and the socio-psychological levels of research prove to be united. Such an approach makes it possible to represent satisfactorily the interaction of the individual with the social structure. Therefore the concept of "interaction" (interplay) is at the center of his theory. Both the behavior patterns of a specific group of individual actors and the social structures, which act as the basis of the definitions of the "ego" and social situations become interactionist (p 52).

The author gives a classification of the trends of modern symbolic interactionism, which coincides with the point of view of other well-known theorists. Stryker's originality is manifested in the fact that he lays claim to the discovery of another trend of symbolic interactionism, which he calls the school of "independents" (p 6). Its representatives, in the opinion of Stryker, are independent in the sense that they ostensibly do not side with any of the traditional symbolic interactionist schools and aspire to independence. The author assigns G. McCall, E. Weinstein, R. Turner and P. Burke to the independents. The versions in the development of modern symbolic interactionism, which are described by Stryker, are united by the fact that they devote attention to a greater extent than the traditional symbolic interactionist schools to the study of the social structure, propose a broader definition of the "ego" and use more often in the sociological study the methods of other sciences (statistical, cybernetic and others).

However, the representatives of the new school differ in the understanding of the constructive nature of human behavior, society as a process, the concept of the "ego," the method of constructing a sociological theory and much more. Stryker admits that the versions of symbolic interactionism, which are described by him, theoretically and conceptually are differentiated only conditionally, that they only become theories. Nevertheless Stryker's book gives an idea of the essence and prospects of the development of one of the most influential trends in modern American sociology and of the ideological techniques of the struggle of the symbolic interactionists against Marxist sociology, and therefore is of unquestionable interest for Soviet philosophers and sociologists.

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